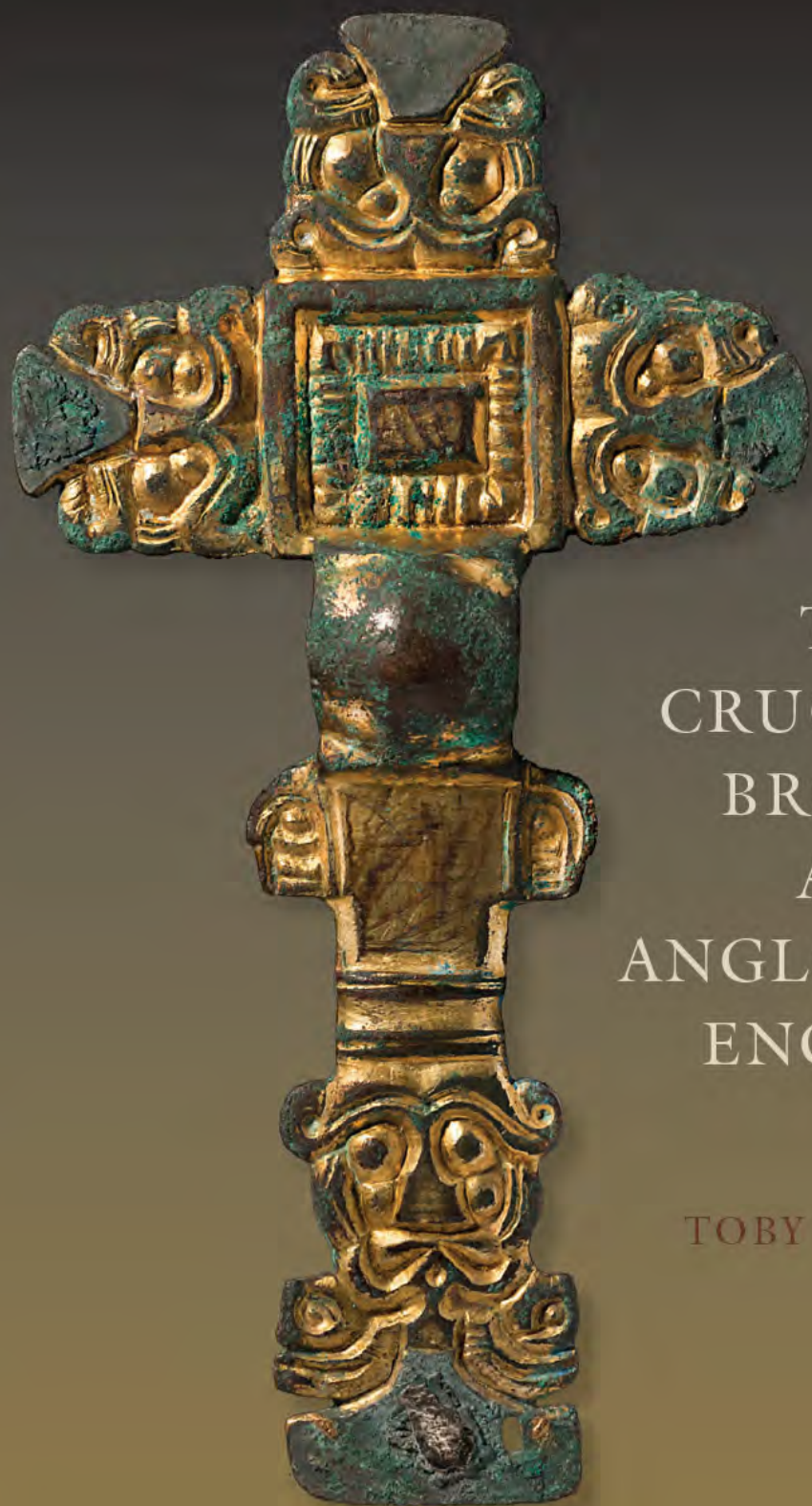




THE
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THE CRUCIFORM BROOCH AND
ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

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THE CRUCIFORM BROOCH AND ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

Toby F. Martin

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*For my parents
Lynne and Philip Martin*

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Preface

This book is the result of two principal aims. The first was to provide a useful reference guide outlining practical matters such as typology, chronology, types of decoration, geographical parameters, usage as a part of dress, and the nature of the archaeological contexts in which cruciform brooches occur. The second aim was to couch each and every one of these observations, traditionally presented as worthwhile in their own right, in terms of their social significance. I decided that if it was of no social import, it was not to be included in the book. However, I soon found almost every such detail to have some bearing on early Anglo-Saxon society and over the course of my writing the greatest challenge became not the recognition of social significance, but the linking of all these aspects together into a coherent narrative, which I hope will become evident through the thematic progression of the book. Though this is not how specialist studies of artefact types have traditionally progressed, this seems to me now to be a useful model.

During the last few years, it has been a privilege to work under the inherited advice and knowledge of so many of our discipline's founders and major protagonists, including Haakon Schetelig, Nils Åberg, Edward Thurlow Leeds and many other highly influential scholars whose work has touched upon the seemingly ubiquitous cruciform brooch. Research on Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches has historically not progressed easily, with Edward Thurlow Leeds and Hayo Vierck both sadly never completing their accounts. It was also a loss to the discipline that Catherine Mortimer never published her doctoral thesis on the subject, which must be among the most cited unpublished works in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology. I wrote this book sorely aware of the shadows all these esteemed scholars cast. I hope that finally seeing something substantial published on cruciform brooches might have been, or still yet might be, a satisfaction to them, given their direct contribution to many of its themes and all of its subject matter.

My ambition with this book was that its reader, be they crouched in some sodden field in East Anglia wiping the mud from a cruciform brooch, in the space of some museum gallery, or in the aisles of an archaeological store, would see not just a particular class in Åberg's, Leeds', Reichstein's, Mortimer's or, heaven forbid, Martin's typology, but early Anglo-Saxon England itself. Observing that ancient jewellery, they might imagine something of workshops, gift exchanges, migrations, ethnicity, kingdom formation, or the relationships between men and women, adults and children. In short, I hope that this book might afford them some connection with the women who once wore these items. I do not wish to set out an authoritative, bullet-pointed list of what cruciform brooches meant, but to reinspire scholarly interest in these objects that have fascinated archaeologists since the nineteenth century. My success in this endeavour is for your judgement.

Acknowledgements

For their academic support from the very start I would principally like to thank Dawn Hadley and John Moreland. My research has also benefited enormously from the critical input and encouragement of Catherine Hills. For the book itself I owe my greatest debts to John Hines whose experience and expertise in this area of archaeology have been particularly beneficial.

This research would not have been possible without the help of many museum staff. More than sixty collections contributed to the work included in this book and as such there are too many individuals to mention by name here. Those who gave substantial amounts of their time to making available large quantities of material include (in no particular order): Rose Nicholson (North Lincolnshire), Eleanor Standley (Ashmolean Museum), Sonja Marzinzik and Virginia Smithson (British Museum), Paula Gentil (Hull and East Riding), Antony Lee (Lincoln Collection), Lorraine Cornwell (Oakham) and Anne Taylor (Cambridge University). Many others facilitated shorter visits to their collections and all of these institutions (and more) are listed in Appendix 1. I remain grateful to all of them. Correspondence with additional museums, as well as with Heritage Environment Records and the Portable Antiquities Scheme, has been substantial and highly beneficial to the work contained here. I am also very grateful for a grant from the Aurelius Charitable Trust, without which the quantity of images contained herein would not have been possible. Additionally, I would like to thank Ian Cartwright at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford, for the permission to use his fine photography as a cover image as well as for the time he took to produce it for me.

During this research I have often relied upon the support of friends and colleagues, most of whom have rarely failed to feign some kind of interest in brooches. Failing that, they have reminded me that there are sometimes more important things in life. To Kirsty Squires, whose insight into all things osteological has also been invaluable, I perhaps owe the greatest debt in terms of companionship and support. However, this book could not have been written without the abiding support of two people in particular and the distractions offered by their ever-ebullient labrador, whose walks freed me from my desk and provided many opportunities for contemplation. I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my parents, to whom this book is dedicated. I will always be grateful for what they have done.

1

The Anglian Brooch *par excellence*

Almost exactly a century ago Edward Thurlow Leeds, in what might justifiably be called the founding work of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology, described the cruciform brooch as the 'Anglian brooch *par excellence*'.¹ It was the distribution of cruciform brooches in the eastern half of England along with their appearance here following the fall of Roman Britain that inspired Leeds to make such a grand statement (Figures 1 and 2). The Anglian cultural zone, which is represented not just by cruciform brooches but by a few other types of jewellery, was a persevering material phenomenon in the region for most of the fifth and sixth centuries AD. The historical significance of this particular locality was echoed two centuries later in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, which stated that this region was the one settled by migrants from Angulus in modern-day Schleswig-Holstein, northern Germany. Of course, our understanding of the term 'Anglian' has changed considerably since Bede's and even Leeds' accounts. Cruciform brooches no longer represent a distinct group of migrants who arrived on these shores from northern Germany along with the Saxons and Jutes, dressed in the distinctive jewellery of their homelands. This is an unrealistically simplified account resembling an origin myth more than it does actual processes of migration and identity formation. Nor can we be quite so quick to imply that earlier Germanic mercenaries, brought to these shores by the British tyrant Vortigern to defend against their invading cousins, decorated their wives with cruciform brooches, whether they were of native or Germanic stock.² Even so, Leeds' turn of phrase still holds a resonance we would be injudicious to discard. Cruciform brooches have become iconic of eastern Anglo-Saxon England and their relative abundance makes them fundamental to understanding regional identity in this period, whatever the name we decide to give it. Thanks also to their elaborate decoration and high numbers of incidences in recorded grave contexts, cruciform brooches are archaeological objects *par excellence* for being an exceptionally rich source of social and cultural information.

To an eye unaccustomed to the jewellery of this era, cruciform brooches make for a strange and somewhat alien sight (Figure 3). Though most who regard

¹ Leeds 1913, 76.

² Collingwood and Myres 1936, 394–5; Kirk and Leeds 1954, 75.

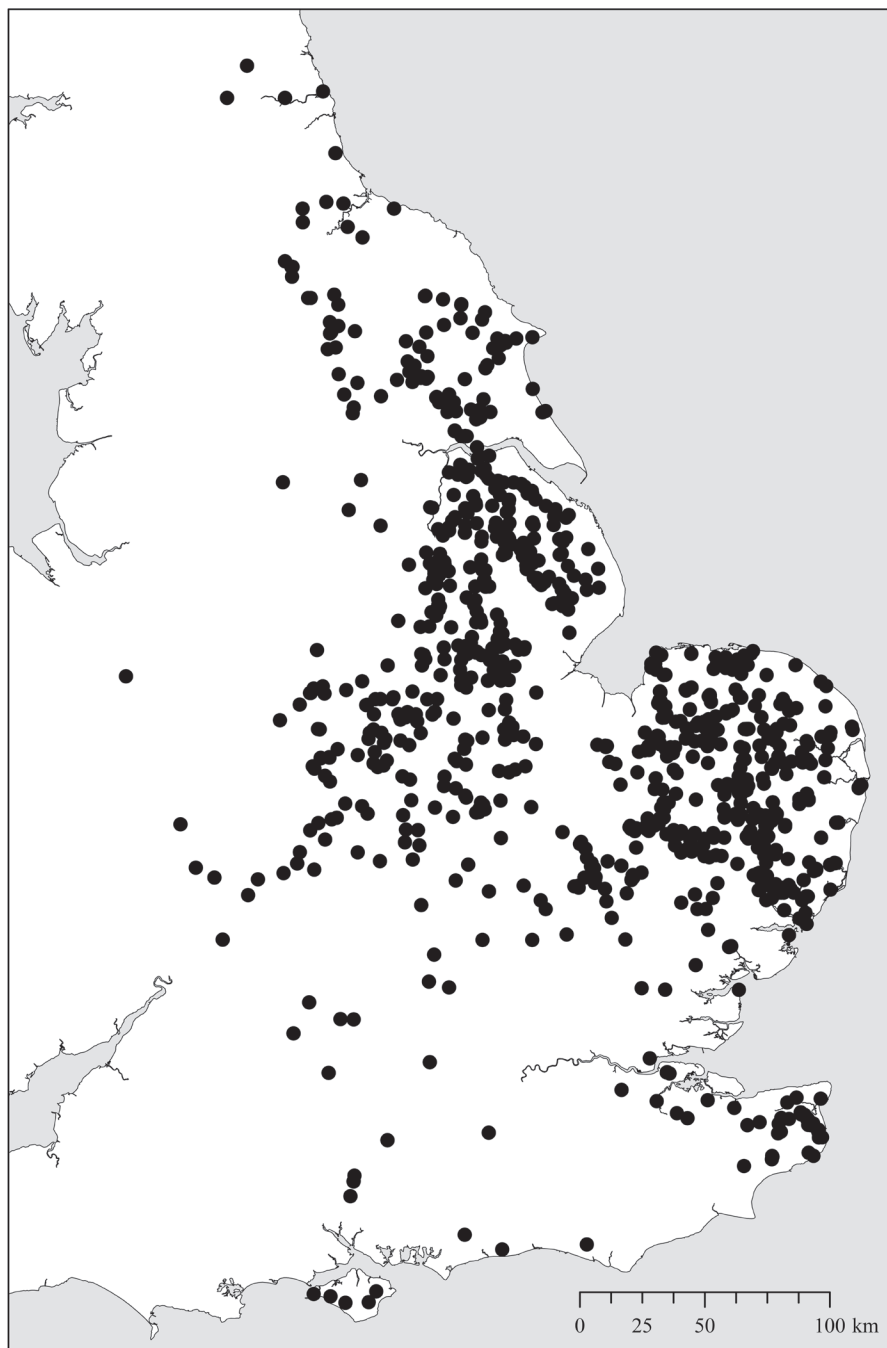


Figure 1. Distribution of all 2,075 cruciform brooches.

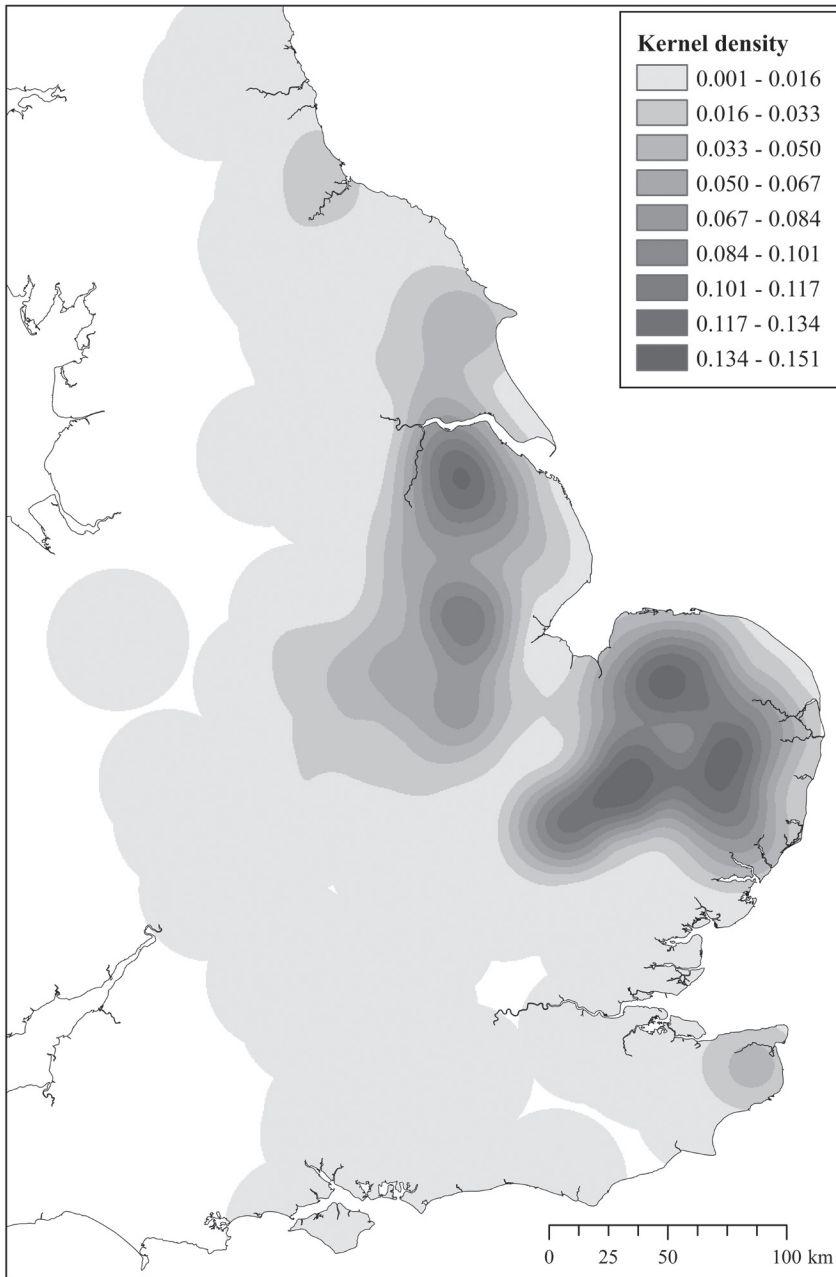


Figure 2. Kernel density analysis of all 2,075 cruciform brooches. The kernel density was calculated using a search radius of 30 km, taking numbers of brooches from each site into account. The numerical values correspond to cruciform brooches per square kilometre.

cruciform brooches find them impressive, these are not items that conform to our classically trained sense of beauty. Rather, they represent an apex of barbarous, Iron Age style incubated beyond the Roman Empire, if under the considerable influence of its latest products. The name 'cruciform brooch' reflects the shape of their head-plate, which owes its form to the placement of three knobs, positioned on its three external sides. The head-plate itself is often very broad and strangely undecorated for the artistic products of this period, perhaps to create a reflective, flashing surface no longer evident due to the characteristic emerald patina of weathered copper alloy. On the reverse of the head-plate is the sprung iron pin mechanism, with an axis sometimes held in place by the side-knobs. Just as often, however, as in the case of the brooch in Figure 3, the side-knobs were vestigial and purely decorative, owing only their inheritance to this original function. Below the head-plate lies a bow that defines cruciform brooches as a sub-class of bow brooch, whose arch provided a space to accommodate the bunched up folds of the garment the brooch pinned. Below the bow sits a small catch-plate, which has on its reverse the catch itself, a folded clasp that holds the iron pin in place when the

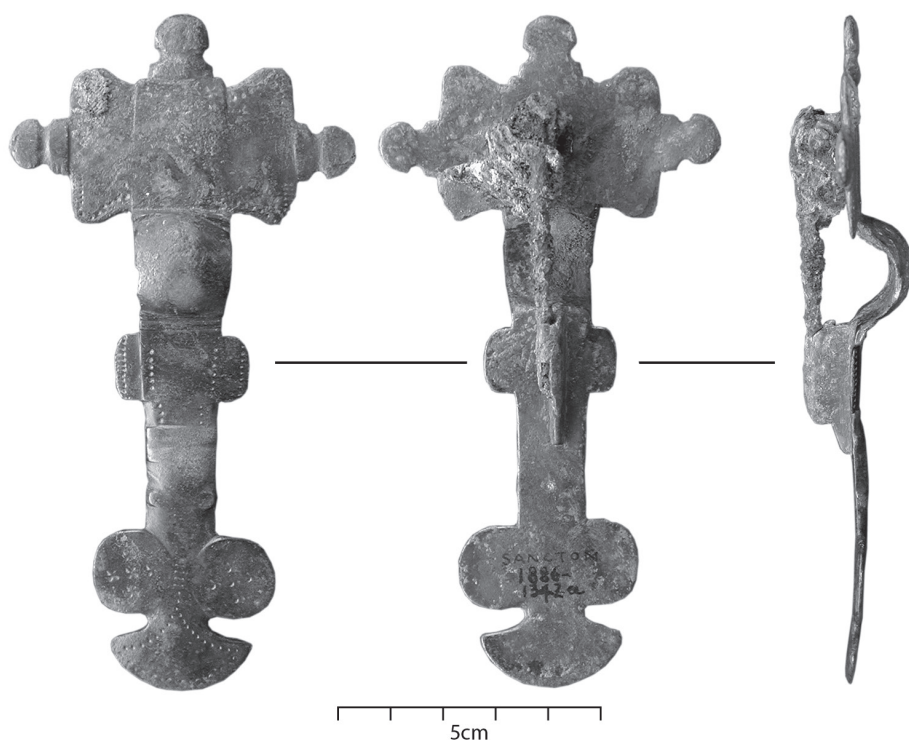


Figure 3. Obverse, reverse and profile of a typical cruciform brooch from Sancton, Yorkshire (#707).

brooch is closed. Finally, there is the decorative foot. The foot comprises the most intriguing element of cruciform brooches, being moulded in the form of an animal or human head, often a curious hybrid between the two, with large bulging eyes, bulbous or elaborately scrolled nostrils, and even sometimes curled moustaches.

While the subject of this book is the Anglo-Saxon series of cruciform brooches, they were also worn in the Netherlands, northern Germany and Scandinavia, being particularly popular in western Norway and originating almost simultaneously across this substantial area of north-west Europe in the first part of the fifth century. The use of cruciform brooches seems to cease first in northern Germany before the end of that century, followed by its cessation in Frisia, most of Scandinavia and then western Norway. For some reason, evidently related to their specific significance to the inhabitants in eastern England, it is the Anglo-Saxon series that persevered the longest, right to the end of the Migration Period in the second half of the sixth century.

Cruciform brooches are important artefacts for several reasons. Their stylistic development over time from small, simple pins to large and complex plate-like objects saturated in complex ornamentation makes them ideally suited to typological classification. Indeed, cruciform brooches are a textbook case in the study of material cultural evolution. Because this progression took place over a relatively short period, and because they occur in an abundance of graves with associated material, cruciform brooches are fundamental to our understanding of Anglo-Saxon and even European chronology. They are also one of very few artefact types solidly datable to the earlier part of the fifth century. This long period of use and relatively reliable chronology permits a holistic examination of almost the entire span of the fifth and sixth centuries AD, a period in which we see an empire collapse, widespread migration, the formation of new ethnic groups and the first glimpses of emergent kingdoms. Not only do cruciform brooches provide a frame of chronological reference for these era-defining events (and indeed were their witnesses), but they also provide a window onto the social and above all material processes behind them. In other words, if we see material culture as intimately involved in social processes rather than just their passive reflections, then it should be possible to trace not just how cruciform brooches reflected processes like the formation of ethnic groups and kingdoms, but how they were integral to them. The fact that cruciform brooches were relatively common items, whose sight must have been a frequent one adorning the costumes of certain women in eastern England, makes the present endeavour of considerable importance to understanding the social and material setting of the fifth and sixth centuries. Therefore, this book is not just concerned with understanding a particular type of brooch. Rather, I want to show how an in-depth comprehension of a single artefact type has implications for understanding the social and cultural development of Anglo-Saxon England itself.

Archaeological and Historical Context

In north-west Europe, both within and beyond the bounds of the rapidly fading Roman world, brooches carried important meanings. As a Mediterranean culture of cities, forts, markets and roads dwindled in the west, a predominantly northern culture of exuberant personal display was on the rise. The early medieval transition at the start of the fifth century is therefore where we leave the archaeology of statehood, monumental architecture and complex economies behind to trace the material vestiges of chiefdoms, farmsteads and the gifting of precious items between important women and men, perhaps even petty kings and queens. Although this change of scale in terms of settlement, social structure and economy marks a diminishing of overall complexity, these societies are no less intriguing. Nor does it mean that we have to study this material on a small scale. Of all the surviving artefacts from the fifth and sixth centuries AD – which is indeed a vast horde of pots, pendants, buckles, buckets, beads, swords, spears and shields – brooches are among the most abundant and for many, they are the most impressive. We have at our disposal thousands of brooches of diverse types, which, taken *en masse*, permit a detailed investigation of the deep structure of society. Among these, cruciform brooches are second only to the magnificent square-headed brooches in terms of their size and decorative elaboration, though by no means in terms of their numbers. Brooches may well be relatively small, personal items in comparison to the imperial infrastructure and edifices of Rome, but the miniature, cast in the right light, can reveal just as much as the footprint of a mighty city. Of course, ‘miniature’ is not a suitable term to describe the more elaborate brooches of this period. They were often massive, heavy items, featuring complex, crowded, glittering decoration, worn with great woollen and linen cloaks, gowns and dresses. Worn on the upper torso, they were often accompanied by festoons of coloured beads, glittering pendants and wrist-clasps, along with items dangling from a girdle such as purses, knives, keys and other paraphernalia. All in all, these were impressive, ostentatious costumes.

The fifth and sixth centuries, lying between the alleged order of Roman Britain and Christian Anglo-Saxon England, are popularly characterised as the darkest of Dark Ages. This, however, is the result of historical obfuscation. In contrast, the archaeology of this period, since its recognition in the early explorations of antiquarians, is very rich indeed and has always been characterised by its abundance of bright and elaborate material culture. Whilst not to a classical taste, considerable artistic achievement has long been obvious in Anglo-Saxon decorative metalwork.³ Within these early products, we see not only the vestiges of Roman Britain but also the germ of Anglo-Saxon England. In fact, the ancestry of the cruciform brooch’s predecessors, the generic bow brooch, stretches much further back as far as the Bronze Age. However, it was only in the late pre-Roman Iron Age that a sudden intensification in brooch use occurred, in terms of both

³ Faussett 1856, xx; Baldwin Brown 1915, 3.

sheer numbers and decorative complexity. As such, the first centuries BC and AD represent a revolution in conceptions of individual personhood, perhaps due to escalating concentrations of power among elite individuals in La Tène Europe as well as within the expanding Roman Empire.⁴ In this emergent social context, conspicuously demonstrating access to prestigious, dress-related accoutrements assumed a new importance. The later, larger cruciform brooches of the sixth century AD are perhaps therefore most helpfully understood as the last gasps of a hybridised Roman and barbarian Iron Age social apparatus for constructing identity and hierarchy rather than the beginnings of a new medieval one. The final gasps maybe, but bow brooches themselves were to go out with a bang. Few of their predecessors were as impressive as the colossal brooches of the fifth and sixth centuries. Lying at the terminal end of this grand ancestry and having gone through centuries of stylistic elaboration, most cruciform brooches were not especially practical objects. They ranged from plainly ornamented items with a strange, bestial visage emerging from one end through to thin, flattened surfaces left completely plain or crowded with extraordinary animal art. It is difficult at first to imagine that those latest, massive planate objects had humble origins in the ferrous safety pin-like fibula of pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age Europe. Because cruciform brooches were an integral part of this ancient narrative of dress in the *longue durée*, a better understanding of them benefits our knowledge of cultural processes that are far grander in scope than just the stylistic development of a brooch form; they help us understand the Roman to medieval transition in Britain, and the internal and external barbarian forces that acted upon it.

*Past Work on Cruciform Brooches*⁵

As an elaborate, widespread and abundant object class, cruciform brooches have seen substantial research since the nineteenth century. They commonly appeared in the accounts of nineteenth-century antiquarians, who occasionally referred to them as ‘long brooches’.⁶ This could be taken as a generic term for all bow brooches, and it is where our term for the cruciform brooch’s diminutive cousin, the ‘small’ long brooch, originates. Precisely when the term ‘cruciform brooch’ was coined is not known, but it was certainly standard terminology by the mid-nineteenth century, when John Yonge Akerman and Charles Roach Smith refer to them as such, albeit not entirely consistently.⁷ Cruciform brooches featured

⁴ For an introduction, see Hill 1995, 85.

⁵ The history of research on cruciform brooches has been recounted many times before and will not be repeated in detail here. For an up to date and especially detailed account see Hills and Lucy 2013, 29–31.

⁶ Reginald A. Smith, in fact, made a point of insisting on this term, see Smith 1908, 66.

⁷ Akerman 1855, 15, 17, 40, but see also 36, 37 where cruciform brooches are simple ‘fibula’. Roach Smith 1868, 158, 215, 218 also refers several times to ‘cruciform fibula’. Reginald Smith’s account (1908, 66) perhaps implies that the term originated among Scandinavian archaeologists. The

substantially in the early accounts of Scandinavian and German archaeologists including Oscar Montelius, Jens Worsaae, Ingvald Undset, Hans Hildebrand, Sophus Müller, Oscar Almgren and Bernhard Salin, but the first dedicated publication was by Haakon Schetelig.⁸ Although Schetelig's account focused largely on the Norwegian brooches, Anglo-Saxon examples were also considered. In the main, Schetelig's work was an unabashed descriptive summary of stylistic variation. Being a product of its time, in a discipline whose major purpose was to trace cultural history, the main interpretative significances of Schetelig's account concern the long-standing debate concerning the mixed Roman and Germanic ancestry of cruciform brooches alongside the uneven shades of cultural influence between northern Germany, Norway, Denmark and England. In 1926 Nils Åberg's typology provided the first formal classification of the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch.⁹ Because Åberg's account was buried within a book on several other artefact types, his treatment was cursory and never really did justice to this stylistically complex artefact type. Nevertheless, it is in major part thanks to the simplicity of his typology that it is still widely used today, despite its classificatory insufficiencies and woefully outdated chronology. Edward Thurlow Leeds recognised the inadequate simplicity of Åberg's typology and responded by devising a complex classification of the latest 'florid' forms. Although Leeds never produced a comprehensive account, Michael Pocock published his work posthumously.¹⁰ Again, this article was mainly concerned with typology. It offered only a little historical context, largely concerning the expansion of these late forms, which Leeds saw as fundamentally East Anglian, in the Midlands. Leeds interpreted this as archaeological evidence for the East Anglian king Raedwald's supremacy over Mercia, which can no longer be upheld due to substantial changes in our understanding of early Anglo-Saxon chronology. Cruciform brooches went out of use long before these historical events took place.

While Leeds only dealt with the latest forms, the earlier part of the Anglo-Saxon series was reclassified from Åberg's system by Joachim Reichstein.¹¹ Reichstein's work on the German and Scandinavian brooches in the same volume was comprehensive, but his treatment of the English series was based on a small sample limited to the earlier types, contemporary with those from overseas.¹² Though only partial and at times impenetrable, Reichstein's work was a substantial improvement on the preceding accounts and it is still a valuable resource.

term had certainly been endorsed a couple of years earlier by Haakon Schetelig, a prominent Norwegian archaeologist who made it the title of his monograph of these items.

⁸ Schetelig 1906.

⁹ Åberg 1926, 28–56.

¹⁰ Leeds and Pocock 1971.

¹¹ Reichstein 1975.

¹² For critical comments see Dickinson 1978, 337. It should be noted that Reichstein's work on the Anglo-Saxon series was intentionally truncated as he was aware Hayo Vierck was simultaneously working on the English material, an account which was never published in full (though see Vierck 1977).

However, its publication in German means that it has never received widespread use among Anglophone scholars. Like the work of Schetelig, Åberg and Leeds, Reichstein's account was mainly concerned with typology and chronology. The only comprehensive account of cruciform brooches that has contributed substantially to our knowledge beyond these practical concerns is Catherine Mortimer's doctoral thesis.¹³ Mortimer provided a typology and chronology which, despite its lack of publication, has seen relatively widespread citation. Additionally, the thesis was also the very first comprehensive metallurgical investigation of non-ferrous metalwork for Anglo-Saxon England. Mortimer's typology was robust, but thanks largely to the recent work of the Portable Antiquities Scheme in recording metal-detected finds taken into private collections, known numbers of cruciform brooches have almost quadrupled since, bringing to light a number of new types and providing justification for a rethinking of the typology. The metallurgical aspects of Mortimer's work, however, provide an excellent companion to the social interpretations that lie at the core of this book and they are still exceptional in their scope and detail. Less comprehensive but still valuable work on the cruciform brooch exists elsewhere, often as a contributing element of a wider study. For instance, cruciform brooches play a crucial role in John Hines' work on Migration Period chronology.¹⁴ Additionally, Johanna Bode's investigation of the cruciform brooches from Schmalstede, a cremation cemetery in Schleswig-Holstein, provides a prototype for the kind of typological analysis presented in the next chapter.¹⁵

The substantial existing work on cruciform brooches therefore provides an excellent basis for the present book, but beyond the traditional typological and chronological concerns, there is little published of an interpretative nature. Moreover, much of the foregoing scholarship is outdated, unpublished or only partial. As such, a thorough assessment of cruciform brooches, going well beyond the necessary concerns of typology, is long overdue.

A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Cruciform Brooches

At the heart of this book is a new corpus of cruciform brooches gathered between the years 2008 and 2013 from first-hand examination of material in English museums, published sources and the online database of the Portable Antiquities Scheme.¹⁶ In total, the sample comprises records for 2,075 cruciform brooches, in

¹³ Mortimer 1990.

¹⁴ See especially Hines 1984, 244–53.

¹⁵ Bode 1998, 23–69.

¹⁶ Although Heritage Environment Records (HERs) have been consulted to link published sites to the appropriate records in the database where possible, HERs were not generally visited to examine images not published elsewhere. Hence, there is a substantial number of cruciform brooches awaiting examination in HERs, particularly in Norfolk, which has been uniquely thorough among the English counties for collecting records of metal-detected brooches since the 1970s, a practice that was only rolled out nationwide from 1997 through the work of the Portable

varying degrees of fragmentation and completeness (see Table 1).¹⁷ The corpus was closed to new finds at the end of October 2013 and the inclusion of brooches from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database up to this date was comprehensive, though doubtlessly a small number evaded recording due to misidentification on the database.¹⁸ All archaeological museums in England were contacted and where the brooches could be made available they were visited, though I am sure many cruciform brooches remain in some collections unidentified or mistaken for some other type. While only a fraction of these 2,075 brooches are illustrated in this book, various pressures combine to make the physical publication of whole corpora expensive and difficult. As such, this book is accompanied by an electronic companion dataset hosted online by the Archaeological Data Service.¹⁹ Each brooch has been assigned a corpus number that is searchable in this catalogue. Additionally, Appendices 1 and 2 at the back of this book include lists of finds sorted by type and by county, where the reader might also be redirected to published images of these brooches. Note that this book and the accompanying catalogue use the historic counties of England throughout, not the modern ones.

Table 1. Quantification of the corpus.

<i>Source</i>	<i>Complete</i>	<i>Fragmentary</i>	<i>Total</i>
Museum/Publication	599	339	938
Portable Antiquities Scheme	72	1,065	1,137
Total	671	1,404	2,075

Antiquities Scheme. For that reason, the inclusion of this sample would have skewed the data somewhat toward Norfolk. Nevertheless, it remains a valuable dataset that would be well worth compiling in the future. Despite this slight shortcoming, the sample of over 2,000 brooches is easily sufficient and representative for the task at hand, being among the largest ever assembled for this period.

¹⁷ 'Complete' is defined here by the presence of at least one of each element of the following: head-plate knobs, head-plate, bow, catch-plate/lappets, foot (see below for definitions of these components, pp. 12–13). Hence, a brooch with only a single top-knob but missing its side-knobs is still counted as complete as in most cases these three elements match. While fragmentary knobs, head-plates, catch-plates and feet were included, fragments comprising just bows were not as they may originate from a number of different bow brooches.

¹⁸ An entire survey of over 22,000 objects dated to the 'Early Medieval Period' (defined by the scheme as AD 410–1066) was necessary due to the inconsistent classification of these items on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database, meaning that more specific searches yield inconsistent results.

¹⁹ This dataset is available on the Archaeology Data Service website at <http://dx.doi.org/10.5284/1028833>, DOI 10.5284/1028833.

Conclusion

Cruciform brooches are among the most abundant and important examples of decorative early Anglo-Saxon material culture. They are often the standout objects from cemetery excavations, they dominate the early medieval records on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database and they are frequent display pieces in museums throughout England. Despite this prominence, beyond attributing to them a sense of Anglian-ness (whatever that might mean), few have contemplated the social meanings of this particular series of brooches and as yet no substantial answers have been offered. Cruciform brooches were obviously important objects in early Anglo-Saxon society. Their abundance in cemeteries and the apparent investment of raw materials and skill into their production indicate that they were of considerable social value. Presumably, they were an everyday sight on the clothing of particular women in eastern England. This restriction to the eastern half of the country is obviously key and their use as part of feminine dress also provokes questions concerning the intersection of regional identity with gender. Despite this obvious potential, the cruciform brooch is yet to be investigated as a material symbol involved in important processes of identity construction for a substantial sector of society through the early Anglo-Saxon Period. Consequently, there is still much that we do not know about cruciform brooches. We do not know much about who wore them and we can certainly refine our knowledge of precisely where and when. Fundamentally, we do not know the significances of these items to the women whose daily routine involved fastening their clothes with them. Nor do we know what kind of associations were evoked in the minds of observers, including husbands, children, the wider community and even contacts from further afield, perhaps even as far as northern Germany and Scandinavia, where close relatives of the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch series were in common use. This book hopes to provide some answers to these questions as well as provoke further ones concerning the relationship between people and things in post-Roman Europe.

A New Typology for Cruciform Brooches

The earliest cruciform brooches did not already contain the sum components of their future development awaiting stylistic elaboration. Although they were small and plain they did, however, contain many elements that proved remarkably resilient to change and remained part of cruciform brooch design from start to finish. The definitive cruciform brooch arrangement of a head-plate with three knobs and a foot decorated with an animal or human mask is one such feature that persevered. However, additional elements were invented *ad hoc* on the cruciform brooch along the way. Furthermore, cruciform brooches exchanged stylistic features with a host of other decorative metalwork, most obviously great square-headed brooches, small long brooches, girdle-hangers and wrist-clasps, with which they shared numerous decorative elements and presumably were produced in the same workshops, by the same craftspeople. This kind of cross-fertilisation between artefact types is at its most obvious among a small number of hybrid brooches, which sit between the major series and are no more part of one than they are of the other. Hybrids between great square-headed and cruciform brooches, for instance, will be encountered below. However, such true amalgams are very rare. Indeed, their scarcity helps confirm the transferability of our modern categorisations of these types backward into the Anglo-Saxon past. Some aspects, however, really were interchanged freely between the major types. For instance, Salin's Style I, a pan-European repertoire of complex chip-carved animal and human motifs, features on many cruciform brooches. Its presence demonstrates that they were part of a larger stylistic world that extended to most of Europe, linking objects as diverse as brooches, buckles, drinking horns, shield bosses and horse harnesses into a single system of material symbols.¹ Of course, by obtaining and wearing such stylistically related objects, their owners also drew links between each other.

These multiple and aggregated stylistic influences are expressed variously and even independently on the different components of cruciform brooches. Cruciform brooches divide into the five major components illustrated in Figure 4: head-plate knobs (consisting of a top-knob and two side-knobs), head-plates, bows, catch-plates and feet. These attributes divide further into their constituent

¹ Salin 1904; Haseloff 1981.

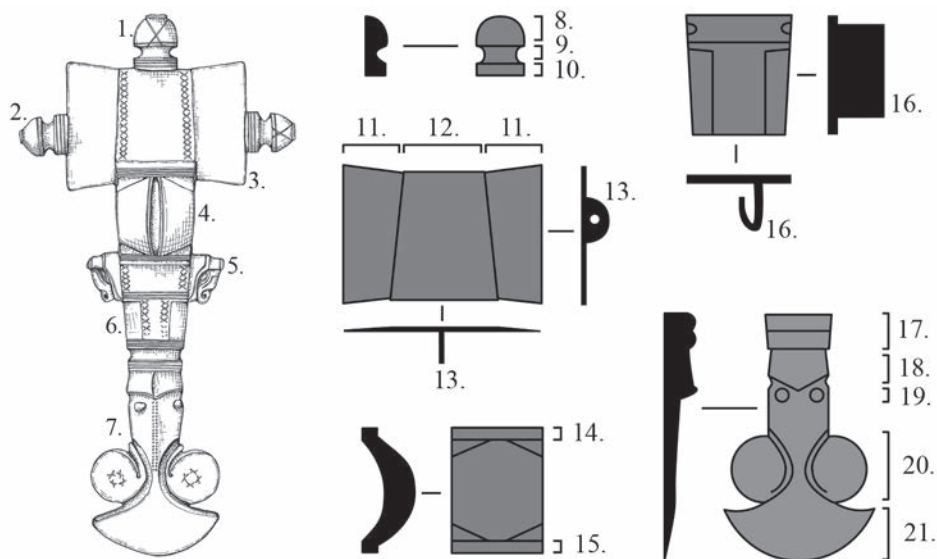


Figure 4. Cruciform brooch component nomenclature: 1. top-knob; 2. side-knob; 3. head-plate; 4. bow; 5. lappet; 6. catch-plate; 7. foot; 8. dome; 9. waist; 10. base; 11. wing; 12. central panel; 13. lug; 14. step up; 15. step down; 16. catch; 17. collar; 18. brow; 19. eyes; 20. nostrils; 21. terminal.

parts. Most head-plate knobs possess a dome, a waist and a base. Head-plates nearly always have a central panel and two lateral wings, with one or two lugs on the reverse for securing the spring axis and pin. Bows have a small rectangular step-up or -down where they meet the head-plate or catch-plate respectively, often decorated with notches and lines. Catch-plates, also generally decorated with notches, facets and lines, can possess lateral projections called lappets, and always have a curved catch on their reverse to hold the pin. The ribbed element at the top of the foot where it joins the catch-plate is called the collar. Below this there is an animal or human mask whose brow, eyes and nostrils could be executed in a number of ways. The foot's purely decorative nature made it especially malleable to different ornamental forms. On many examples, a flaring terminal projects from the base of the foot, which again could assume a variety of shapes, from a curved crescent form, to a broad spatulate chisel shape. All of these components ('attributes') could therefore assume a number of different forms ('attribute states'), which were subject to influences from within and beyond the cruciform brooch series. The sheer number of these components and their possible forms belies the massive variation of which cruciform brooches were capable.

This composite structure is an integral aspect to the typology presented below as it permits a more holistic, polythetic consideration of the types.²

Failure to incorporate this composite structure was a weakness in the pre-existing typologies. The linearity of Schetelig's, Åberg's and Leeds' classificatory systems gave the impression that there was a single thread of cruciform brooch development running through the series, occasionally branching, but for the most part heading in a single direction, with new forms rapidly replacing old ones. This oversimplification contributed to a persistent indecision over where to draw the line between Åberg's groups III and IV: brooches that feature spiralled nostrils without and with lappets respectively.³ Because the earliest cruciform brooches lacked the lappets that are present on the obviously later forms there was an assumption that all those brooches without these projections were probably earlier. However, the sum components of most of these brooches suggest that there is no great difference between many members of Åberg's groups III and IV at all. The present typology acknowledges this similarity by its reduction of the traditional five major groups of cruciform brooches down to four.

Reichstein's decision not to consider cruciform brooches as composite objects led to his typology's exclusion of many examples.⁴ Instead of a comprehensive typology, Reichstein presented a small number of tightly defined, isolated forms and a large number of *Einzelformen*. These examples were purportedly unique, but a closer analysis reveals their obvious relation to his other types. Because Reichstein did not acknowledge the intermixing of attributes between them, they remained unclassified. Although little explanation of the classificatory system is provided, it seems that the validity of Reichstein's types depended on their members possessing consistently associated, if not identical, components. Though virtually identical brooches become more common toward end of the cruciform brooch series, pairs that are not found together in the same grave, fastening the same article of clothing, are extremely rare.⁵ Hence, a typology that treats cruciform brooches as composite artefacts provides a much more comprehensive classificatory system more sympathetic to their underlying design structure.

Conceptualising cruciform brooches as composite objects not only provides a more accurate and useful system, but it is also eminently suitable for approaching these artefacts as material symbols. Since the 1980s, archaeological theory, heavily influenced by structuralism, has employed a linguistic metaphor for

² Typologies based on a consideration of multiple components are termed 'polythetic' in the theoretical literature, as opposed to 'monothetic' approaches that select a single diagnostic attribute to define a type (see Adams and Adams 1991, 355).

³ Åberg (1926, 42) drew an absolute line between these types, which was somewhat complicated by Leeds' (1945, 69) and later Pocock's (Leeds and Pocock 1971, 15, 26–9) adjustments. Mortimer (1990, 108) returned to a system closer to Åberg's by separating brooches with and without lappets into her groups C and D.

⁴ For critique on this point see Dickinson 1978, 337; Bode 1998, 24.

⁵ Nevertheless, if the corpus continues to grow at its current rate, identical or nearly identical series of brooches are likely to become far more numerous.

understanding material symbolism.⁶ This theory holds that objects are deeply involved in symbolic communication and they provide a means of experiencing, ordering, and indeed changing, the world.⁷ Metaphorically speaking, the range of material forms provides the vocabulary and their relation through style makes the symbolic communication meaningful by providing the equivalent of a syntax or grammatical structure. Cruciform brooches, as composite objects, consist of multiple symbols corresponding to each of their various attributes – the head-plate, the bow, the foot and so on – which only make sense together within the stylistic system. Just as different words in a sentence must conform to grammatical rules, the states of the various cruciform brooch attributes conform to the operating principles of their style. While the combination of attribute states on a single brooch was relatively free and fluid, as we shall see below, tendencies toward particular combinations are definitely observable. An important aim of the present typology is to uncover some of the conventions of cruciform brooch style and in so doing enhance our understanding of how these objects operated as material symbols.

Nevertheless, principles of style do not constitute unbreakable rules. Indeed, their transgression provides the driving force for typological development itself. Cruciform brooches did not endure as unchanging material symbols through the diverse social contexts that produced them. A cruciform brooch produced in the early fifth-century post-Roman milieu of eastern England most likely had a very different meaning to one produced a century later at a time when proto-kingdoms were beginning to crystallise. But this is abundantly clear from their obviously divergent forms, even regardless of context. The meaning of cruciform brooches must have adapted between types and over time. The fluidity, complexity and dynamism of their stylistic conventions reflect this. 'The' cruciform brooch in the title of this book is therefore perhaps something of a misnomer: cruciform brooches were likely to have been many different things along the course of their development. Furthermore, if straightforward rules of style existed that could be applied to the whole series, Schetelig and Åberg had all the tools and knowledge they needed to build a typology that would still be fit for purpose today. But there were no rules. There is no hidden formula awaiting discovery through a revelatory method. The supposed problem of classifying cruciform brooches authoritatively will exist for as long as there is a belief in an underlying, rigid, coherent logic in cruciform brooch design. While acknowledging the fallacy of that particular endeavour, we should still be able to detect tendencies toward particular component combinations among some, if not all, types. But rather than envisioning types as distinct groups of identical items, or associated examples held together by some golden rule, each type is more accurately envisaged as a

⁶ Hodder 1986; Tilley 1999. Specifically on dress see also Eco 1973 and for Anglo-Saxon jewellery Dickinson 1991, 39–40.

⁷ On this idea in particular I am influenced by Gosden 2005's discussion of late Iron Age material culture.

fuzzy cloud with a set of consistently designed brooches at its centre, becoming less defined and even merging with neighbouring types at its edges. This fuzzy cloud concept reflects the organic, fluid processes of copying alongside innovation by which cruciform brooches seemingly developed.

A Reflexive Methodology for Typological Classification

Creating and explaining classifications of material culture is rarely a straightforward process. This is because typologies tidy subconscious, often messy and primarily visual patterning into a deliberate, systematic and generally verbal account. To be useful and indeed usable, typologies also have to delineate a continuum of social variation into discrete, bounded units: a process that is ultimately more creative than it is deductive. The tools that archaeologists use to do this are often complex and occasionally, in the case of intuitive reasoning, inexplicable. Consequently, the methods that form the basis of a typology require plain and clear presentation. The typology presented below was a product of intuitive judgement and statistical analysis in equal measure informed over several years' examination of the stylistic range of cruciform brooches. Incremental and reflexive feedback between these methods was fundamental. The application of statistical methods to classifying material culture frequently runs the risk of reifying a chosen method into an authoritative solution. Therefore, rather than just exhibiting the finished product, the presentation of this typology will initially provide a statistical analysis, followed by descriptive accounts of the types. This mode of presentation represents an effort to reflect the actual process of classification in a straightforward and above all honest manner as a justified process rather than an assertion.

Theoretical debates concerning typological methodology have been running for decades without resolution.⁸ But in terms of practice, there are by now clearly observable trends away from intuitive techniques toward more quantified and often statistical accounts. Style, however, is a highly subjective variable. A degree of qualified, intuitive judgement based on the accumulated knowledge of the specialist is inevitable and probably even fundamental to the accuracy and utility of any typology. At the point of data input, for instance, the practitioner chooses variables according to their perceived significance, which among other things might be chronological, functional, technical or iconographic. Because my account conceptualises cruciform brooches as material symbols, the attributes chosen below tend to avoid technical and functional categories, favouring instead decorative aspects that have little to do with practicality or construction. My primary classification of cruciform brooch attributes into their ascribed states means that these statistical analyses, though their graphs and numbers make them appear objective, inevitably have their basis in subjective reasoning, followed by experimentation

⁸ For summaries, see Dunne 1986; Adams and Adams 1991.

according to what seemed to work and what did not. Subjectivity, however, is not a byword for imprecise or unjustified. In cases like these, knowledge of the range of material forms, gained over years of examining the material is a hard-won and valuable resource. The material was not approached blindly, but with some preconceptions of what factors might be chronologically, regionally or socially significant, whilst also keeping an eye on what might make a practical typology for future researchers. In what follows, statistical analyses do not replace the human practitioner. Instead, they provide a sounding board for further exploring intuitive judgement.

Different kinds of variation in material culture affect the differential suitability of statistical techniques. A number of precedents exist for the statistical analysis of early Anglo-Saxon typology.⁹ In the case of cruciform brooches, correspondence analysis provides a particularly effective method for graphically illustrating the kind of typology that will be outlined below. Additionally, this method has previously proved successful with a sample from a wider area of north-west Europe examined by Johanna Bode.¹⁰ However, Bode classified cruciform brooches only at the level of their attributes and did not aim to provide a system to deal with whole brooches. Indeed, the intention was to seriate rather than classify cruciform brooches. This was useful enough for Bode's objectives, but has less utility beyond them. Correspondence analysis itself is a multivariate statistical technique for revealing the presence or absence of structure in data. As such, it identifies interrelatedness between variables or the lack thereof by calculating relative measures of similarity between cases on a number of axes of variation. These axes provide scales of difference, with the examples at one end being most dissimilar overall from those at the other. While the first axis summarises most of the variation, correspondence analysis can calculate any number of axes that account for progressively less and less of the overall difference. It is usually the first two axes of variation that are plotted against each other to create a scatter of points that can be examined for clusters. Closely related cases on both axes of variation lie either in clusters or in lines that emanate from point zero on both axes. Unlike statistical techniques that force the data into preformed categories according to particular criteria, correspondence analysis requires a human practitioner to understand why certain cases cluster by examining the sets of variables they share. Hence, a gradually dispersing cluster on a correspondence analysis plot represents a tightly related group of objects becoming less consistent at its margins and even merging with other groups. Correspondence analysis therefore provides the opportunity to test the fuzzy cloud concept of types outlined above

⁹ E.g. Dickinson 1993a, 14–15; Hines 1997, 4–7; Suzuki 2008, 29–30.

¹⁰ Bode 1998, 23–68. Mette Palm and John Pind (1992, 61–6) were the first to apply this method to cruciform brooches, albeit in terms of chronology rather than typology. Unfortunately, a very small sample and an imprecise methodology compromised their results (Hines 1992; Høilund Nielsen 1997, 79).

with quantified, albeit ultimately subjective, data.¹¹ The correspondence analyses illustrated below were all executed using Torsten Madsen's CAPCA add-in (version 2.1.1) running in Microsoft Excel 2007.¹² In all the plots illustrated below, the first axis of variation is always plotted horizontally and the second axis vertically.

In order to have maximum utility, as well as to provide an impression of interrelatedness, this typology has a hierarchical structure. The primary level of classification divides the whole corpus into four major groups. Detailed definitions and illustrations of these groups will be provided below as each is addressed. Summarily, group 1 contains small, plain and narrow brooches, usually with a top-knob that is fully round in section, unlike those of the rest of the series which tend to have flat or even concave reverses. Group 2 consists of broader, generally larger, but still simple brooches with laterally expanded head-plates. Group 3 brooches have expanded feet, generally with large terminals. Additionally, group 3 catch-plates frequently, though not always, possess lappets. Group 4 brooches are much larger, very elaborately decorated and are best defined by their large, flat head-plate knobs covered in Style I ornament. The secondary level of classification further divides these groups into sub-groups. The criteria for division into sub-groups vary, but all sub-groups essentially provide a reflexive means of illustrating relationships between loosely related clusters of types. Division into types provides the third and final level of classification.¹³ The diagnostic feature for all the types is a specific foot form. Although this was partly a decision based on creating a practical and consistent typology, the correspondence analyses demonstrate that particular foot forms were indeed often associated with related sets of attribute states, although not consistently enough to provide concrete, polythetic definitions, which was precisely the problem that Reichstein encountered among his *Einzelformen*. The naming of types reflects their hierarchical position within sub-groups and groups. Hence, 'type 4.3.2' refers to the second type of brooch in the third sub-group of group 4. This hierarchical structure not only makes interrelationships between types explicit, but it also permits even fragmentary examples assignation to at least a group if not a sub-group or type. While the typology was constructed with the classification of fragments in mind and is indeed largely successful in this enterprise, Appendix 3 provides a labelling system for fragments so small that they evade even the most general level of classification at the group level. For ease of use and memorability, each type has also been assigned a

¹¹ The analyses presented below included only complete examples, which numbered 671 (see Table 1). Because the analysis measures the ratios of co-occurrences of the same attribute states, the inclusion of incomplete examples would not have been useful. Therefore fragmentary examples were classified only once the typological structure was in place.

¹² This is freely available for download at <http://www.archaeoinfo.dk> (last accessed March 2014).

¹³ It is however possible to delve into some types further to find sets of particularly close parallels – a task perhaps for a future enterprise and one that will become increasingly rewarding as the corpus expands.

name corresponding to the find-spots of key examples.¹⁴ A couple of types share their name with Reichstein's labelling system. This is deliberate and these few instances will be highlighted as the account progresses. Beyond this division into four groups an additional series of Kentish brooches, defined quite apart from the principal series, is also provided. In the following account, each type is illustrated by a line drawing in the main text. To complement these illustrations, the plates at the back of the book have been selected to provide further photographed instances of each type.

Group 1 Cruciform Brooches

Group 1 cruciform brooches are small, narrow and plain. They generally have a top-knob that is fully round in section.¹⁵ On their reverses, group 1 brooches only ever have one lug for the attachment of the spring axis. They often have very long catches that extend from the base of the bow all the way down the foot, occasionally taking the form of an enclosed box not encountered elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch series. Brooches belonging to group 1 have obvious parallels in Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. While they are relatively few in number (192 examples), they are highly important because they represent both the origin of the series and some of the few items from post-Roman Britain that can be confidently assigned to the earlier part of the fifth century.

These origins have been subject to debate for more than a century. For the archaeologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, whether cruciform brooches had origins among Germanic, Roman or even proto-Slavic material culture had fundamental implications for the perceived cultural heritage of Germanic peoples. The obvious candidate for a cruciform brooch prototype has long been the Roman crossbow brooch.¹⁶ After all, it was a common type of brooch in fourth-century Europe, widely distributed outside the Empire. Crossbow brooches not only share their three head-plate knobs with cruciform brooches, but the faceting, notching and linear decoration that often appears on their feet is also found on the earliest cruciform brooches and on the catch-plates of much of the series thereafter (as well as on the feet of the equally early supporting-arm brooches or *Stützarmfibeln*, see below, pp. 148–150).¹⁷ However, the earliest cruciform brooches were also part of a wider Iron Age bow brooch tradition, ultimately

¹⁴ I avoid the use of the term 'prototype' here intentionally for its chronological connotations, but such key examples might be seen to lie at the very centre of the cloud of intra-type variation.

¹⁵ This is not always the case. Four members of group 1 have half-round top-knobs, from Beachamwell (#79), Claxby (#110, Plate 2.4), Sleaford (#140, grave 66, Pl. 3.2) and Spong Hill (#184, cremation 1168).

¹⁶ Bendixen, Undset and Müller were among the first supporters of this theory, as was Schetelig (see Schetelig 1906, 8).

¹⁷ On crossbow brooches either side of the frontier, see Pröttel 1991.

originating in La Tène brooches with feet that were folded back toward the bow in order to form a catch for the pin, which remained in use beyond the frontier through the Roman Iron Age.¹⁸ This is what led a number of early scholars to identify a series of brooches from the Black Sea coast, in what is now Ukraine, as the true prototypes of cruciform brooches, brought to Scandinavia via a speculative migration around AD 200.¹⁹ However, these brooches with a returned foot were in fact common throughout much of Europe, which led others to claim an exclusively Germanic origin for cruciform brooches.²⁰ Predictably therefore, identifying the cultural heritage of cruciform brooches has long been as much a case of drawing arbitrary lines between very closely related or even continuous brooch forms and pre-supposed cultural groupings.

Nevertheless, a key step along the way to the origin of the cruciform brooch series as it is defined here undoubtedly involved slightly earlier items known as Nydam brooches, named for their occurrence in that substantial late Roman Iron Age bog deposit of southern Jutland. Because the transition between Nydam and cruciform brooches has become synonymous with the transition between the late Roman and Migration Periods in northern Europe, the type definitions have become crucial not just to brooch nomenclature, but also to the definition of the Migration Period itself. While Reichstein included what are more accurately described as Nydam brooches in the cruciform brooch series, most now agree that Nydam brooches are more usefully defined as a series unto themselves. The crucial difference is that while cruciform brooches possess a square head-plate covering the spring axis and surmounted by a top-knob, the top-knob of Nydam brooches is joined to the bow only by a narrow spar, so that the spring axis is clearly visible.²¹ The example from Dorchester on Thames is still the only confirmed occurrence of a complete Nydam brooch in Britain, 140 years after its excavation in 1874.²² Due to their incompleteness or somewhat more robust character than most Nydam brooches, the possible examples from Mildenhall (#5), Nassington (#6, grave 17) and Preston St Mary (#66) have been included in the present corpus, though their presence here might be seen as borderline. The only other possible English Nydam brooch is from Spong Hill (#73, cremation 2197),

¹⁸ The original highly influential work on these and other late Roman Iron Age brooches in northern Europe was Almgren 1897. Godłowski 1970 is also important here for central Europe.

¹⁹ Smith 1908, 66.

²⁰ E.g. Hildebrand, Almgren and Salin (see Schetelig 1906, 8; Schetelig and Falk 1937, 200).

²¹ The key distinction therefore is that when looked at from above, the cruciform brooch head-plate has a T-shaped section formed by the plate and the perpendicular lug, which the Nydam brooch lacks. This distinction was asserted by Slomann (1977, 62), following Sternqvist (1961) and Lund Hansen (1970) and hinted at even earlier by Schetelig in 1910 (see Engevik 2008, 20–1 for more detail). Nydam brooches are also sometimes known as Dorchester brooches. According to Bemmann (1993) and Rau (2010), Dorchester brooches more accurately belong to variant 6 of the Nydam series.

²² Kirk and Leeds 1954.

though its excavator has recently confirmed this fragmented example as closer to the cruciform brooch series.²³

Figure 5 illustrates the twenty attributes identified among group 1 cruciform brooches. Cruciform brooches of group 1 divide into four distinct types by their foot form. These types belong to two sub-groups, defined by the general proportions of the brooch as either narrow (sub-group 1.1) or slightly broader (sub-group 1.2). The difference between these sub-groups is also expressed in the form of the top-knob, which is either small and irregular with a rounded waist in sub-group

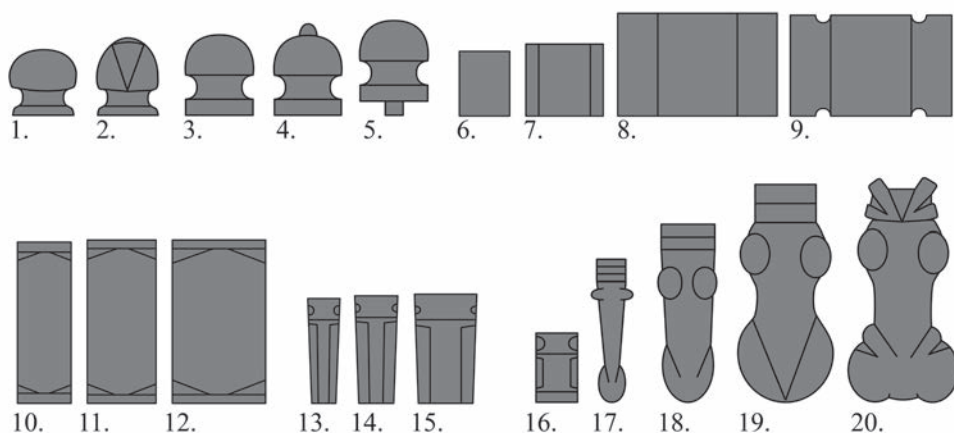


Figure 5. Group 1 components (not to scale).

1.1 (typically Figure 5.1, or the brooches on Plate 1) or slightly larger and more evenly cast with a crisply defined waist in sub-group 1.2 (typically Figure 5.3, e.g. Plates 2 and 3). A rare polyhedral or faceted dome occurs in thirteen instances (Figure 5.2), and an even rarer top-knob with a small protrusion occurs in two instances (Figure 5.4). The top-knob with a tab (Figure 5.5) is restricted solely to the Kentish series among group 1 brooches, but becomes common later in the principal series. It is relatively unusual to find side-knobs preserved on any of these brooches as they were always cast separately and were therefore easily lost. In the eighteen instances where they survive they match the style of the top-knob. Head-plates divide into four types: with no wings, very narrow wings, broader wings and notched wings (Figures 5.6–9). The last of these is again unique to the Kentish series. Group 1 bows tend to be either narrow, similarly narrow but with a bulging apex or a broader rectangular shape (Figures 5.10 and 11). Catch-plates follow a similar pattern of being narrow and tapering toward their base,

²³ Hills and Lucy 2013, 31.

rectangular or square (Figures 5.13–15). These are all difficult shapes to define accurately, so the relative proportion obtained by dividing the length of bows and catch-plates by their widths supplies a classificatory criterion, which was used to define narrow, medium and broad categories of each.²⁴ The four varieties of foot, which define each of the main types, include a plain tongue decorated with notches and lines (type 1.1.1, Figure 5.16), a long, narrow animal head with joined nostrils (type 1.1.2, Figure 5.17), a broader animal head with joined nostrils (type 1.2.1, Figure 5.18) and an even stouter animal head with more clearly defined and generally separated lentoid nostrils (type 1.2.2, Figure 5.19). Finally, there is a Kentish group 1 foot, the first in the series to feature comma-shaped nostrils, and the only one to possess schematic ears (Figure 5.20). For the time being, only the main series will be addressed. I will discuss the Kentish series last of all in this chapter.

Of the 192 examples belonging to group 1, only sixty-nine were complete or otherwise suitable for correspondence analysis. The Kentish brooches were excluded as they are too few and will be treated separately below. Additionally, single occurrences of particular variables were also removed, to avoid skewing the result. This led to the exclusion of a single brooch from Barrow upon Soar (#102), which possesses the only instance of a top-knob with a small protrusion (Figure 5.4) on a complete brooch. This left a total of sixteen usable attribute states. Although the distinctions between these group 1 attributes are very subtle compared to the other groups, and many of them are more to do with proportions than the presence of a diagnostic feature, a correspondence analysis of these attributes indicates they have surprising salience (Figure 6). The horizontal axis separates the two major clusters with sub-group 1.1 at its positive (right) end and sub-group 1.2 at the negative (left). Within the sub-group 1.2 spread, there is some very good separation between types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 on the vertical axis. Within the sub-group 1.1 cluster, however, there is very little separation between the types, which suggests that unlike types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2, types 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 share attributes indiscriminately. As a result, distinction between these types is only possible by prioritising the foot as a diagnostic feature, which in this case is fully justified given that one is zoomorphic and the other is geometric. According to the absolute contributions of each variable to the position of each brooch on the plot, it is the small, irregular top-knob and head-plate without wings that control most of the variation on the horizontal axis, which helps to explain the good separation between the sub-groups. Overall, however, bow and catch-plate proportions do not contribute substantially to either axis, meaning

²⁴ The three categories of each were arrived at by measuring all instances at their widest points and locating apparently natural breaks in the series. For bows, the defining proportions were greater than 2.75 for the narrowest, between 2.00 and 2.74 for the medium ones, and less than 2.00 for the broadest. For the catch-plates these proportions were greater than 3.00, between 2.00 and 2.99, and less than 2.00.

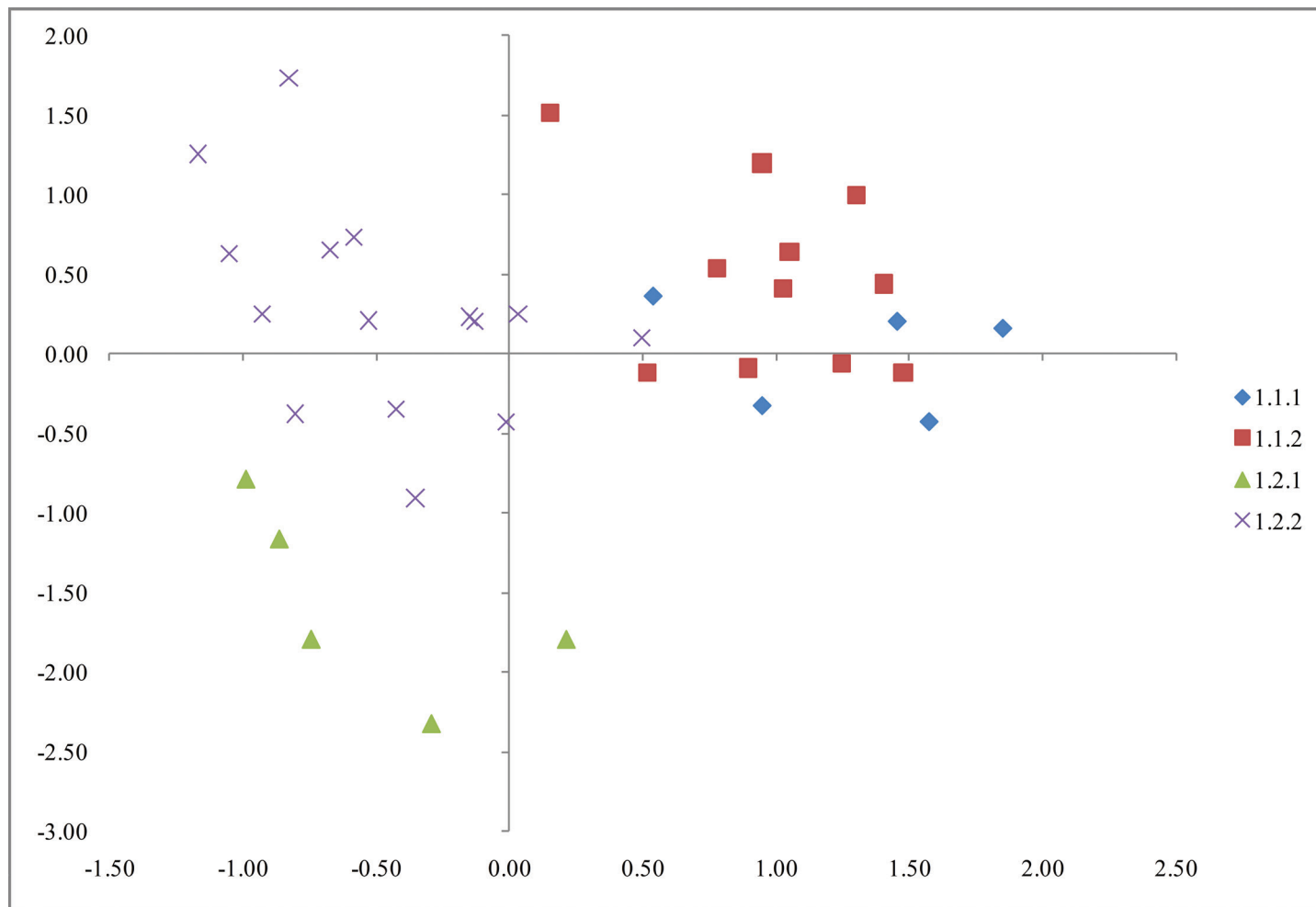


Figure 6. Group 1 correspondence analysis.

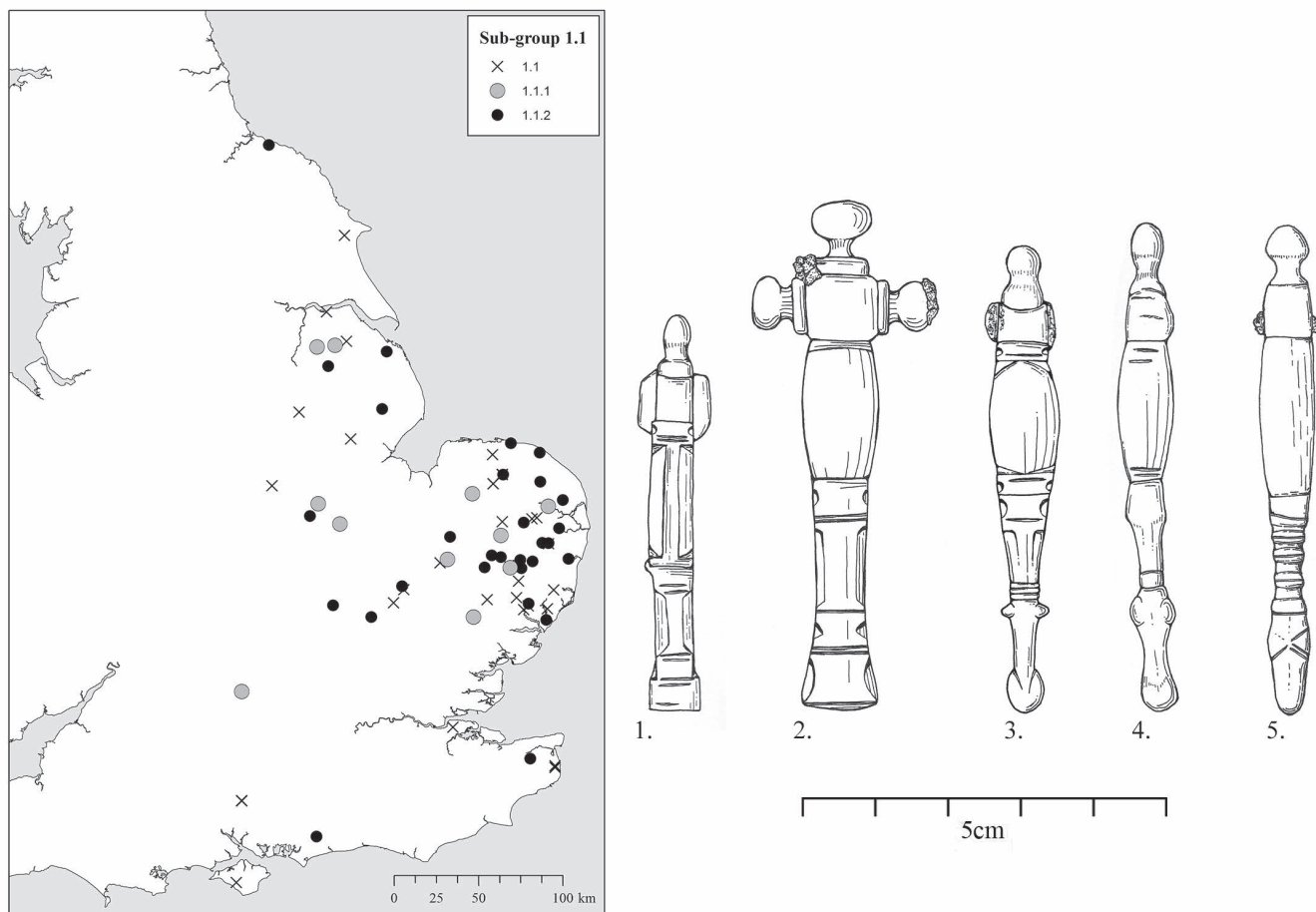


Figure 7. 1. #7 North Kelsey, Lincolnshire (1.1.1); 2. #2 grave 9, Cleatham (1.1.1); 3. #35 St John's College, Cambridge (1.1.2); 4. #36 St John's College, Cambridge (1.1.2); 5. #22 Glentham, Lincolnshire (1.1.2).

that their distribution between the types and sub-types is less structured than the other attributes.

Type 1.1.1 "Empingham" (#1–11)

While type 1.1.1 brooches share many of their elements with Nydam brooches, their relative broadness of form, particularly in the head-plate, separates them (Figure 7.1–2). This is also obvious in their feet, which do not narrow like those of Nydam brooches but in some cases even expand into a spatulate terminal. The top-knobs are all small and irregular, with the single polyhedral exception from Little Dunham (#4). In all cases but two, the head-plates also lack wings. The type 1.1.1 foot with its notches, facets and lines replicates the design found on both Nydam brooches, crossbow brooches as well as the supporting-arm brooch series and it betrays the origins of cruciform brooches in the much broader late and post-Roman stylistic milieu. However, those examples with expanding terminals from Empingham I (#3), Cleatham (#2, grave 9, Figure 7.2), Little Dunham (#4) and Sudbury (#9) show a closer relationship with the hybrid small long brooches with cruciform brooch head-plates. The disparity between the brooches from North Kelsey and Cleatham in Figure 7 gives a good idea of the range. Hence, type 1.1.1 shows a considerable degree of internal development that may well be chronological. Although type 1.1.1 brooches do not have the characteristic animal mask on their feet, their inclusion in the cruciform brooch series is justified by their close relationship with type 1.1.2, borne out by the correspondence analysis.²⁵

Type 1.1.1 brooches are distributed predominantly in the south-east and have not yet been found north of the Humber (Figure 7). The more slender examples are virtually indistinguishable from a number of examples from Germany, Norway, Denmark and Sweden, which Reichstein defines in his types Åk, Kvassheim, Tveitane-Hunn, Røssøy and particularly type Pritzier.²⁶

Type 1.1.2 "St John's" (#12–43)

The diagnostic feature of type 1.1.2 is a narrow foot decorated with an animal mask that tends to taper towards its end before expanding slightly at the nostrils (Figures 7.3–4, Plate 1). The nostrils, if they are delineated at all, are obviously joined or only marked by a slight scoring on each side of the nose. Like type 1.1.1, these brooches also possess small, irregular top-knobs, but again there are a couple of polyhedral exceptions in the examples from Ixworth (#27) and

²⁵ The small long/cruciform brooch hybrids (Reichstein's types Feering and Foldvik-Empingham), however have been excluded from this corpus. Given the apparent importance of the zoomorphic foot through the rest of the series, it was felt these hybrid brooches, given their size and morphological characteristics, belong more safely to the small long series. If anything, these hybrids relate most closely with sub-group 2.2, below.

²⁶ But not, however, Reichstein's type Dorchester, which consists of Nydam brooches. For illustrations, see Reichstein 1975, Pls. 1–9, 11, 17, 67, 76 and 79.

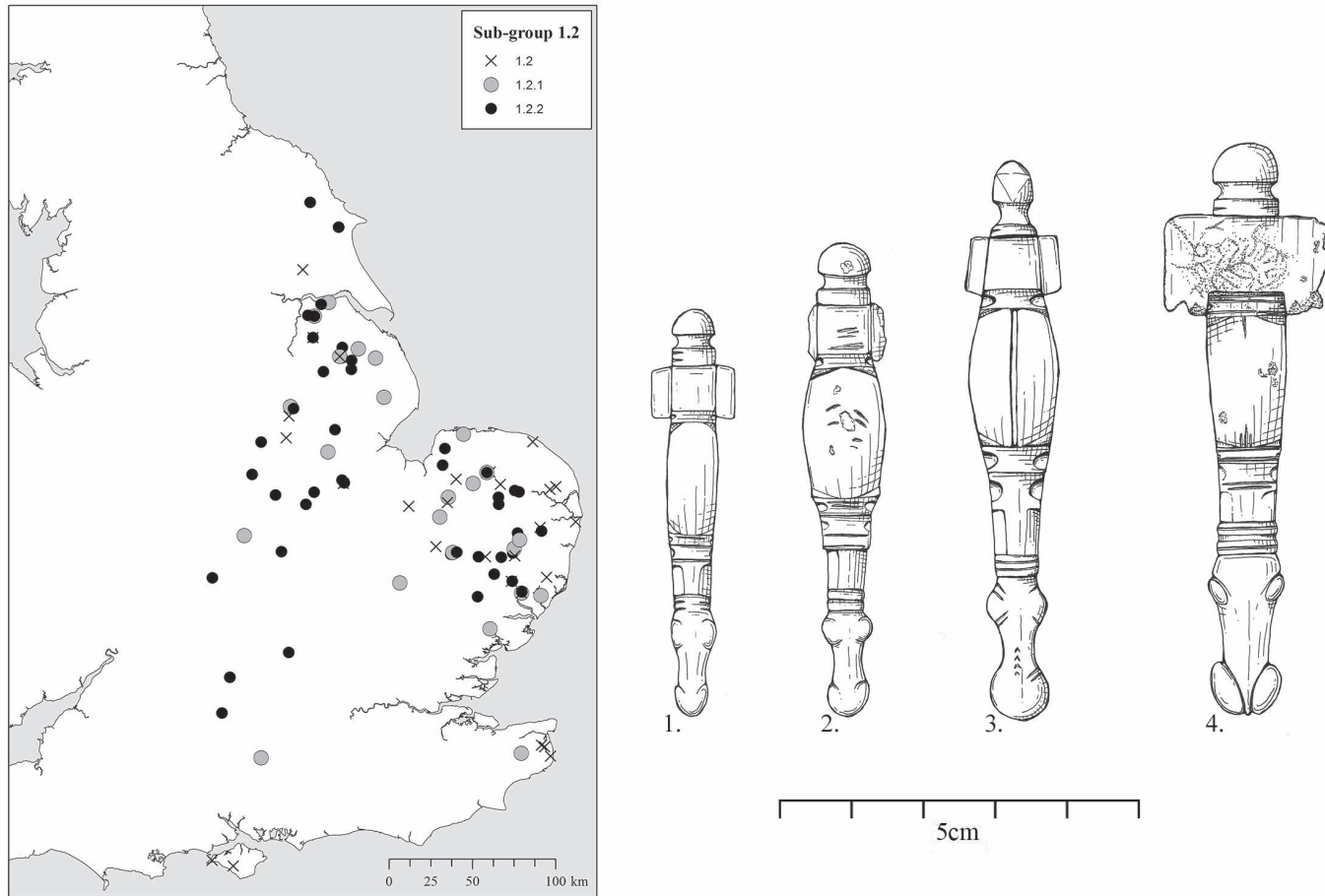


Figure 8. 1. #81 Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire (1.2.1); 2. #78 Appleby, Lincolnshire (1.2.1); 3. #104 Baston, Lincolnshire (1.2.2); 4. #140 grave 66, Sleaford, Lincolnshire (1.2.2).

Miningsby (#32). The head-plate usually lacks wings, but again there are exceptions from Horham (#26), an unprovenanced example from Suffolk (#40), and a surprisingly advanced example from Wortwell (#43). The example from Ixworth (#27) features faint punched dots on its foot, while another from Wenhaston with Mells Hamlet (#42) has its foot haphazardly decorated with tiny rings. Together, these examples represent the only instances of punched ornament in sub-group 1.1.

Though they are more widespread, type 1.1.2 has virtually the same distribution as type 1.1.1, which is easterly with a slight spread into the East Midlands, though they are also found further north and south (Figure 7). Like type 1.1.1, this type is paralleled by a number of examples from Germany, Denmark, Norway and additionally from the Netherlands. The narrow, tapering animal heads of type 1.1.2 are comparable with Reichstein's type Witmarsum, although the English examples tend to be somewhat smaller. Even the exceptionally large example from Glaston (#21, grave 7, Plate 1.3) does not equal the length of the continental examples.²⁷ Although the Wortwell specimen (#43) is large, it has already assumed the somewhat broader proportions more typical of the Anglo-Saxon series. The brooch from Glenthams (#22, Figure 7.5), with its extended ribbed collar, is a fairly peripheral member of type 1.1.2, but has much clearer, if larger, parallels from Friesland and northern Germany, included in Reichstein's type Hoogeteintum.²⁸

Type 1.2.1 "Bolingbroke" (#78–100)

Not only do type 1.2.1 brooches have the larger, more sharply delineated top-knobs that help define sub-group 1.2, most examples also have a noticeably broader foot, which is generally much wider at the nostrils and just above them than in type 1.2.1 (Figure 8.1 and 2, Plate 2.1 and 2). However, in terms of their small size and joined nostrils, type 1.2.1 are closely related to type 1.1.2. They differ by nearly all having head-plates with wings, albeit very narrow ones (the single exception is #94 from Middle Rasen), bows with a more pronounced bulge at their apex and larger top-knobs. Again, punched ornament is rare, occurring only on two examples from Beachamwell (#79) and Spong Hill (#97, cremation 2195). The distribution of type 1.2.1 is about as concentrated in East Anglia and Lincolnshire as sub-group 1.1, but like type 1.2.2 (below), there is a noticeable spread westward in the Midlands, with examples found as far west as Warwickshire and Hampshire (Figure 8). Like all group 1 brooches the generally small size and narrow shape of type 1.2.1 has obvious parallels abroad. However, unlike types 1.1.1 and 1.1.2, there are no close overseas parallels for its foot form. Type 1.2.1 therefore may well represent the very first stage in the insular development of the English cruciform brooch series.

²⁷ Reichstein 1975, Pls. 79–81.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. 83.

Type 1.2.2 "Little Waldringfield" (#101–159)

Although type 1.2.2 shares its regular top-knob and generally broader form with type 1.2.1, brooches belonging to this type are often considerably larger (compare Plates 2 and 3). More diagnostically, their feet have nostrils that are a moulded or delineated lentoid shape. Although these lentoid nostrils are generally separate, sometimes they join at the base. In any case, abrasion from wear or corrosion can make this unclear. Type 1.2.2 displays considerable variation in size. A number of examples are noticeably smaller, comparing closely with type 1.2.1. At the other, advanced end of the spectrum, type 1.2.2 includes a few examples that are clearly transitional between groups 1 and 2. The expanded head-plate wings on some examples, such as those from Rudston (#138 and 139, Plate 3.3 and 4), West Stow (#158–9) and East Shefford (#120, Plate 3.1), for instance, certainly approach the sizes of group 2 brooches. The increased frequency of punched decoration on as many as ten brooches belonging to type 1.2.2 (17 per cent of them) also provides a close link with group 2. A particularly closely related set of brooches from Coddanham (#113), Little Waldringfield (#134) and Baston (#104, Figure 8.3) are paralleled abroad by Reichstein's type Gross Siemß, found in Jutland, northern Germany and the Netherlands, to which most members of type 1.2.2 bear some resemblance.²⁹ In England, type 1.2.2 spreads almost equally over Lincolnshire, East Anglia and the East Midlands, again with outliers as far west as Hampshire and Berkshire (Figure 8).

Group 2 Cruciform Brooches

The 346 cruciform brooches belonging to group 2 do not possess any additional components to those present in group 1. They are simply larger, broader versions of the same basic form. This tendency is expressed particularly clearly in their expanded head-plate wings. Another feature that distinguishes group 2 from group 1 is a top-knob that is semi-circular in section, although there are a few exceptions, especially among type 2.1.1. Innovations on group 2 foot forms include brows and comma-shaped nostrils, although the semi-circular, heart-shaped and lentoid nostrils seen among group 1 brooches still predominate. Punched ornament also features more frequently among group 2 brooches, occurring on 31 per cent of the examples, though it is generally limited to the simpler motifs of circles, dots and crescents. While group 2 brooches do not possess direct parallels among their closest overseas equivalents, the connections are still stronger than those expressed by groups 3 and 4. Relationships with German examples virtually cease to exist outside group 1, but the Netherlands provides a small number of close parallels. Less specific equivalents in terms of general form are still found among the Norwegian, Swedish and Danish series, but on the whole, group 2

²⁹ Ibid., Pls. 81 and 82.

brooches represent a distinctively Anglo-Saxon series of brooches. As such, they indicate a notable break in the continuity of continental influence that was so obvious among group 1 brooches.

Group 2 brooches continue a trend first encountered within type 1.2.2, which is the co-occurrence of larger and smaller versions of the same basic form. For group 2 brooches this constitutes the difference between sub-group 2.1 and their smaller copies in sub-group 2.2. Only one member of sub-group 2.1 has double lugs out of ninety where they are extant and visible, compared to eight members of the fifty-five sub-group 2.2 brooches. Related to these statistics is that fact that while the majority of the larger sub-group 2.1 brooches have separate side-knobs holding the pin axis bar level either side of the lug, miniature sub-group 2.2 counterparts generally have integrally cast side-knobs. These side-knobs never have fixtures to secure the pin axis bar, which instead would benefit from a pair of lugs to hold it securely in place. These subtle innovations in the pin mechanism suggest that these smaller brooches (sub-group 2.2) are more distant from group 1, despite their closer association in terms of size. Additionally, many of these miniature brooches often appear to be less carefully modelled than their larger counterparts. They frequently have asymmetries and poorly defined decoration, which might again suggest they are copies of the larger brooches rather than vice versa. Additionally, unlike the long box-like pin catches of group 1, the catches of all group 2 brooches tend toward shorter rectangles projecting only from the reverse of the catch-plate and not extending down the reverse of the foot.

Group 2 comprises eight types, six of which are defined by smaller and larger versions of the same basic foot form, making for five distinct classes of foot (Figure 9.19–26). Most of these have the half-round or heart-shaped nostrils encountered among group 1. The absence of a brow distinguishes types 2.1.1 and 2.2.1 from 2.1.2 and 2.2.2 (Figures 9.19 and 9.23 compared with Figures 9.20 and 9.24). Eyes that project outward and often upward, which also lack a moulded brow, define type 2.1.3 (Figure 9.21). They do, however, frequently feature an incised brow. Whether or not the nostrils join at their base makes no classificatory difference to any of these types. Both joined and separate nostrils are very similar and in any case abrasion or corrosion often disguises their original form. The remaining types of foot are more distinctive. Types 2.1.4 and 2.2.3 are defined by their comma-shaped nostrils (Figures 9.22 and 9.25), while type 2.2.4 has circular nostrils (Figure 9.26).

Six types of top-knob were identified (Figure 9.1–6), most of which also featured among the group 1 brooches. New forms for group 2 include a steeply triangular top-knob with a small protrusion at the apex of its dome (Figure 9.2) and a rare type with just three occurrences in group 2 that has a longitudinal groove running down its dome (Figure 9.5). The tabbed top-knob (Figure 9.4) is far more common in group 2 and was almost always separately cast and slotted over a spike protruding from the top of the head-plate. Head-plate types include versions already encountered in group 1 with rectangular wings (Figure 9.7)

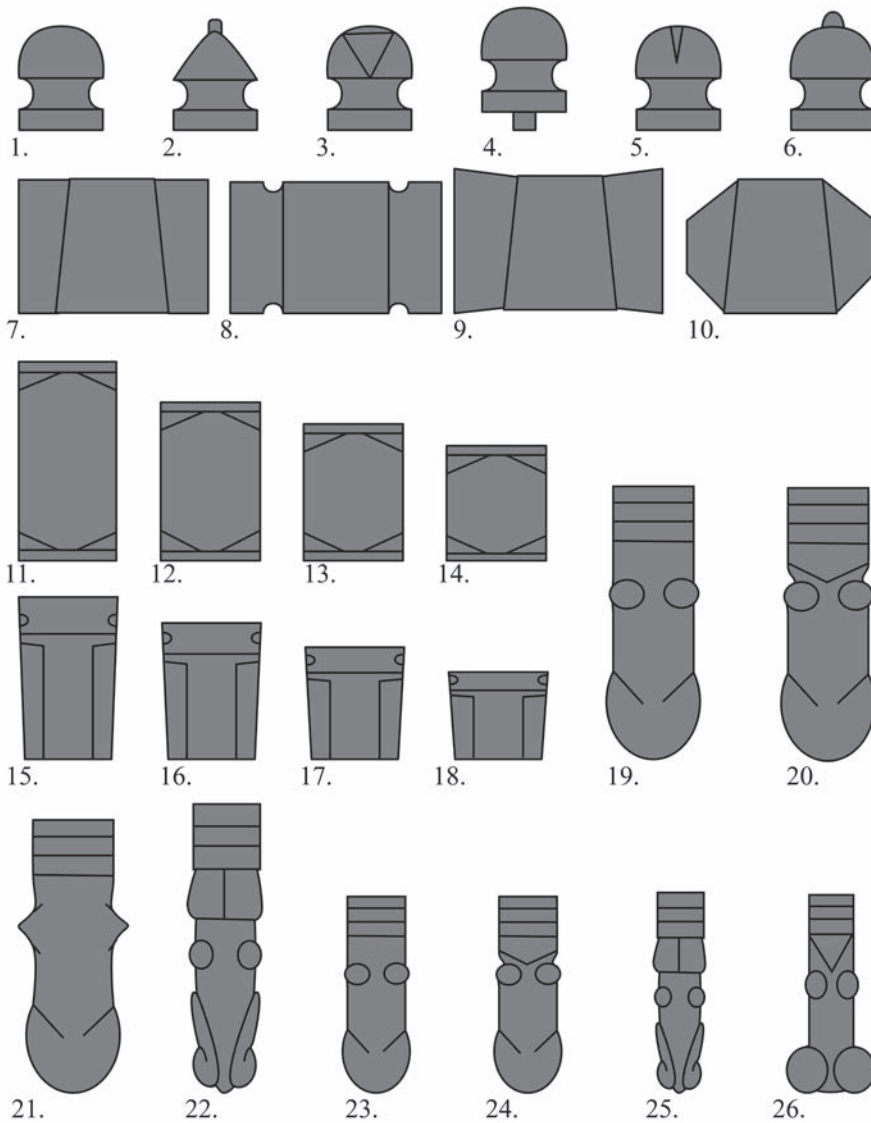


Figure 9. Group 2 components (not to scale).

and with small notches on the inner edge of the wings (Figure 9.8). A new type for group 2 has expanding, trapezoidal wings (Figure 9.9) and there is a further unusual variety with narrowing wings unique in England to the Kentish series (Figure 9.10), but related to tendencies among the Scandinavian series whose head-plate wings tend to narrow slightly rather than expand. Bows and catch-plates, as in

group 1, were defined by the ratios of their length divided by width. For group 2, there seemed to be four rather than three natural breaks in the sequence of proportions, leading to the designation of four types of each (Figure 9.11–18).³⁰

Distinction between some group 2 types is subtle indeed. Although distinguishing the smaller and larger versions is obvious at a general level, closer examination reveals a number of examples that could lie in either sub-group. Like group 1, group 2 lacks iconographic complexity, which makes it harder to draw clear distinctions based on the presence or of absence of a particular feature. Because most of the foot forms are relatively simple, they do not fall into clearly delineated types, but tend to blend into one another. For instance, although brows are in most cases obvious, sometimes they resemble just a slight indentation above the eyes. Similarly, although many examples of the type 2.1.3 foot form with projecting eyes are quite distinctive, in the instances where those eyes project more outward than upward there are more easily confused with types 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

With all this in mind, it is hardly surprising that a correspondence analysis of the group 2 attributes presents a mixed picture (Figure 10). Of the 346 group 2 cruciform brooches, 174 complete examples were included in the analysis. The removal of the Kentish head-plate with narrowing wings (Figure 9.10) left twenty-four variables, all of which occurred twice or more.³¹ While most sub-group 2.1 types are restricted to the negative (left) half of the horizontal axis, sub-group 2.2 lies at its positive (right) end, with type 2.1.4 lying between them, indicating its poor fit with both sub-groups. While types 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 are virtually indistinguishable, and therefore probably only differ in their foot form, type 2.1.1 shows a slightly more mixed nature, blending into the region toward the positive (right) end of the horizontal axis. Type 2.1.4, however, displays excellent separation, at least on the vertical axis, a character that is probably due to the frequency of trapezoid head-plate wings among its members. This, along with its spiralled nostrils, helps to associate type 2.1.4 with group 3. Type 2.2.3, its miniature version, is unsurprisingly found nearby, loosely grouped slightly further up the vertical axis, but sharing the same space on the horizontal one. The remaining sub-group 2.2 types are all grouped together but quite mixed, indicating that, like types 2.1.2 and 2.1.3, they are justifiably distinguishable only by their foot form.

³⁰ For bows, these were as follows: less than 1.25, 1.25–1.49, 1.50–1.74, and greater than 1.74. Catch-plates fell into the following four ratios: less than 1.00, 1.00–1.24, 1.25–1.49, and greater than 1.49.

³¹ Four complete brooches belonging to the main series were removed due to their unique, unclassified components. These included #405 from Tuddenham St Martin with its unusual flattened top-knob and #525 from Congham for its almost entire suite of miscellaneous components and a form that looks like an approximate but delicate imitation of the more robust sub-group 2.2 form. A further two group 2 brooches feature Style I motifs on their feet, including #535 from Malton that has a tiny Style I panel and #536 from Glen Parva that has a foot decorated with Style I nostrils. In all other respects these four items belong to group 2 (they do not have lappets or expanded feet), though Style I is otherwise strictly a feature of groups 3 and 4.

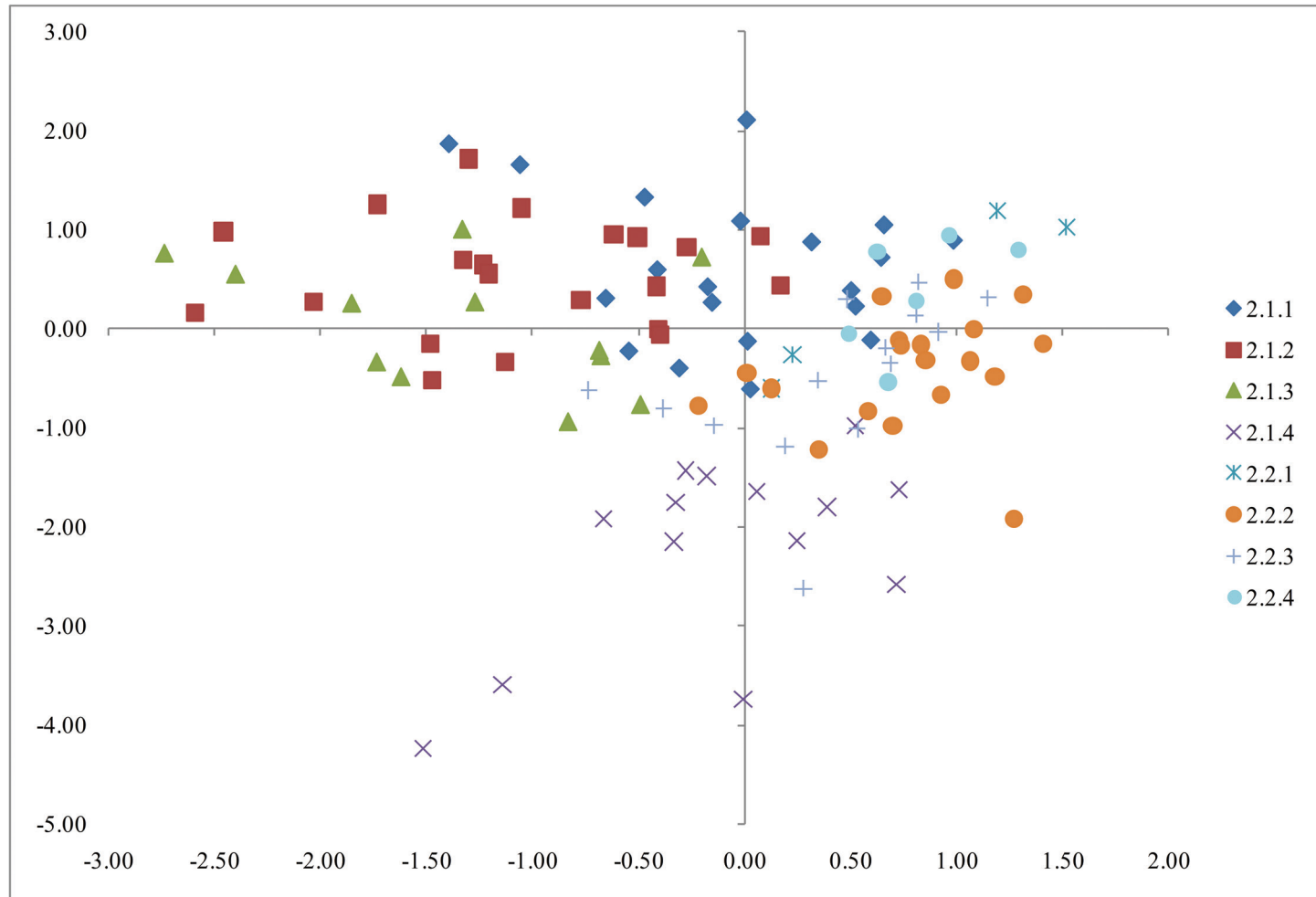


Figure 10. Group 2 correspondence analysis.

Although some structure is perceivable in the combinations of components in group 2, particularly between the two sub-groups, the overall picture indicates a host of closely interrelated brooches with no types besides 2.1.4 that can be reliably distinguished by more than one variable. Nevertheless, there is some clustering, even if the types do frequently occupy the same space, which indicates that attributes are not shared entirely randomly between types. Some foot forms evidently tended to attract particular complementary attributes, but these were by no means rules of style, just slight tendencies that are difficult to implement in a classificatory system. Some of these tendencies toward particular combinations will be explored in slightly more detail below.

Type 2.1.1 "Cleatham" (#193–240)

Type 2.1.1 brooches have a foot with semi-circular nostrils and no brow (Figure 11.1, Plates 4 and 5). This, along with the occasional occurrence of a fully rounded top-knob and their frequently small size, associates them closely with group 1. The polyhedral top-knob more common in group 1 also reoccurs three times among type 2.1.1 brooches (#200 from Cleatham grave 36 in Figure 11.1, #207 from Girton grave 7 in Plate 4.1 and #229 from Spong Hill grave 26). However, type 2.1.1 brooches have a broader and larger foot than is encountered in group 1 and the nostrils form a much more obvious joined heart shape than the tendency toward the lentoid nostrils seen among type 1.2.2. Additionally, the eyes are usually small and pellet-shaped rather than the slightly triangular or protruding examples encountered respectively among types 2.1.2 and 2.1.3. The head-plate wings are nearly all small and rectangular. Two brooches, one from Sewerby (#228, grave 12) and one from St John's (#233, grave 8) feature deeply cut ring-and-dot ornament – a bullseye motif occasionally inlaid with red or white enamel or other coloured paste – a feature that is encountered only twice in group 1 (on #1 from grave 122 at Abingdon and on #136 from Pakenham), but sporadically through the rest of the series. These two brooches are also noteworthy for their almost identical appearance, especially given the distance between their find-spots. Type 2.1.1 displays little regional bias beyond the general cruciform brooch distribution focused on East Anglia, Lincolnshire and the East Midlands (Figure 11).

Type 2.1.2 "Oakington" (#241–299)

This type is essentially the same as type 2.1.1 with the addition of a brow that is moulded or incised above the eyes on the foot (Figure 11.2, Plate 6). There is a tendency, possibly caused by the moulding of the brow, toward more triangular or oval eyes than in type 2.1.1. Most examples are also somewhat larger and polyhedral top-knobs never feature, indicating a greater typological distance from group 1. The head-plate wings, however, can often be quite narrow. The

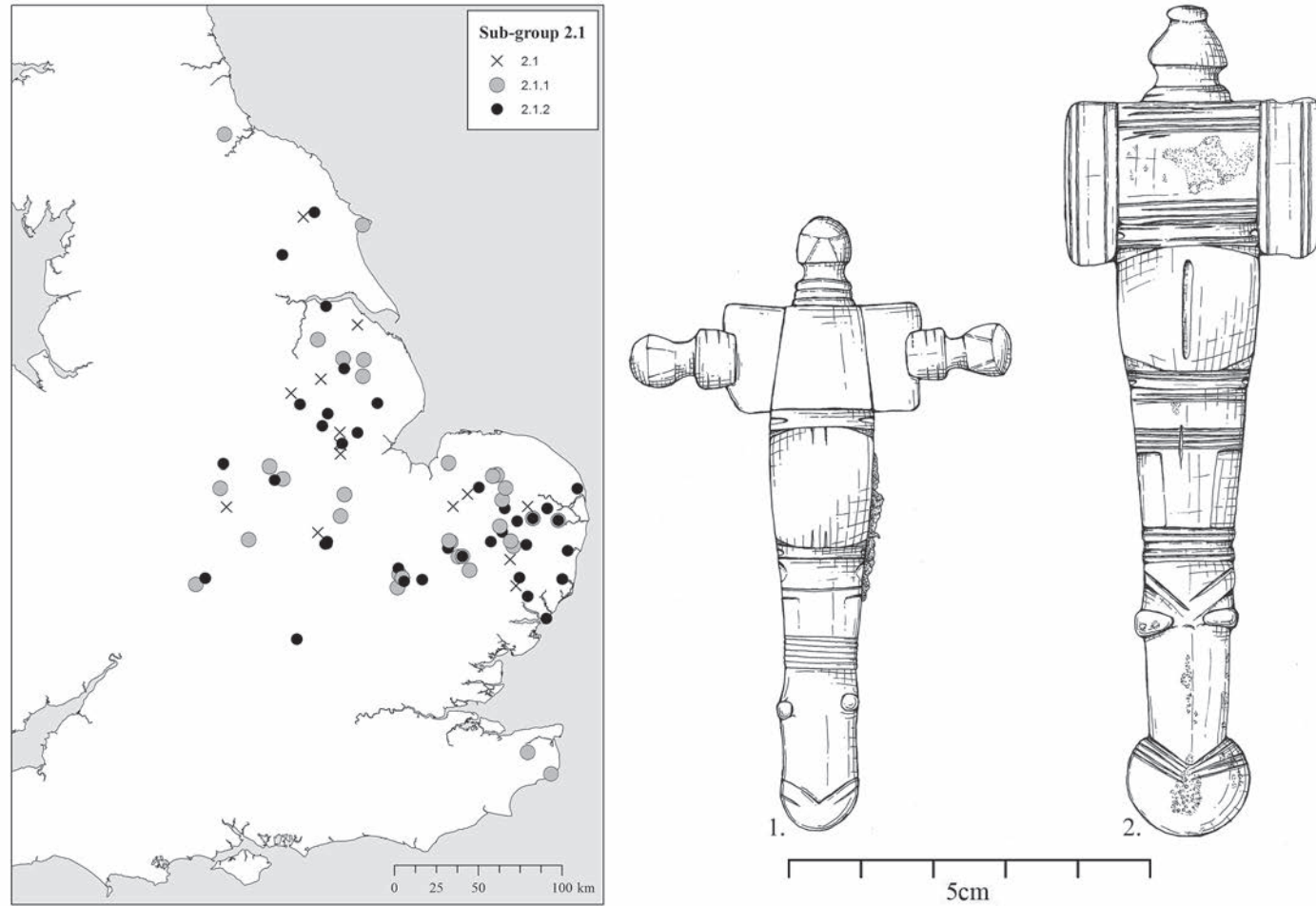


Figure 11. 1. #200 grave 36, Cleatham, Lincolnshire (2.1.1); 2. #259 grave 48, Holywell Row, Suffolk (2.1.2).

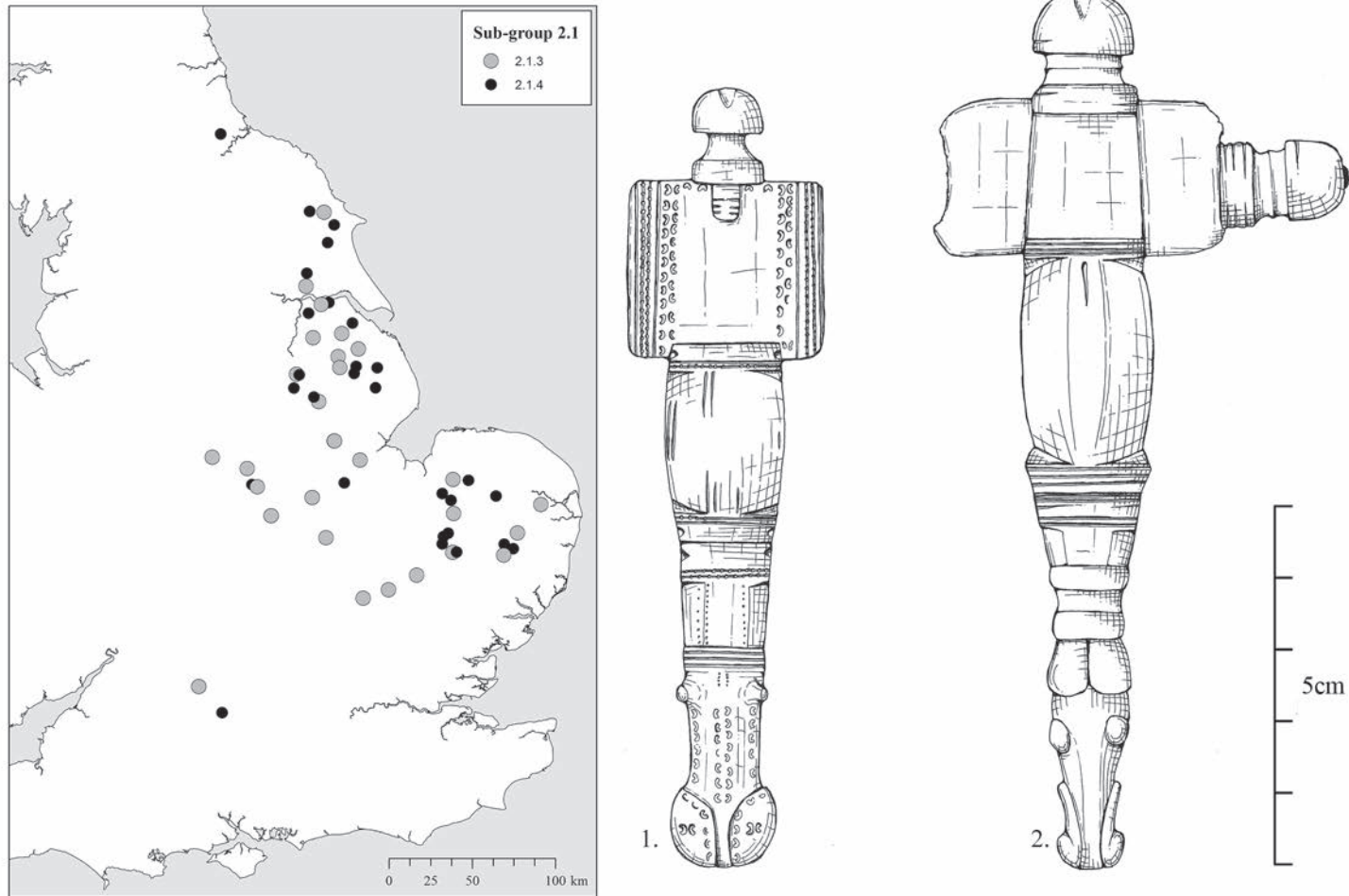


Figure 12. 1. #314 grave 143, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (2.1.3); 2. #355 Sancton, Yorkshire (2.1.4).

pointed, triangular top-knob (Figure 9.2), while not unique to type 2.1.2, is especially common here, with seven of its twelve instances occurring on this type (for instance Figure 11.2). The tabbed top-knob is also common among type 2.1.2 brooches. A few of these brooches also feature unusually trapezoid wings together with attachment loops on their feet, a feature encountered intermittently throughout groups 2 and 3, which probably had a number of functions (see Plate 35 for examples). One example from Trumpington (#286, Plate 35.2) shows the use of attachment loops for suspending a type of circular pendant more commonly found attached to bronze-bound stave buckets. Another example from group 3 (#573 from grave 34, Cleatham, type 3.1.1, Plate 35.1) shows they could also suspend small glittering, clattering plates known as spangles. The distribution of type 2.1.2 is unremarkable, focusing again on East Anglia, Lincolnshire and the East Midlands, with a few outliers to the west (Figure 11).

Type 2.1.3 "Bergh Apton" (#300–332)

A peculiar foot with outwardly and upwardly projecting eyes defines type 2.1.3 (Figure 12.1, Plate 7). At their most pronounced, these eyes can assume an almost stalk-like appearance. Like type 2.1.1, these brooches lack a moulded brow, though often the head has an incised diagonal cross forming both a triangular brow as well as a triangle extending below the eyes. Like some members of type 2.1.2, type 2.1.3 brooches often feature an attachment loop on the foot and tabbed and often separately cast top-knobs (e.g. Figure 12.1). These tabbed top-knobs are especially common in fact, occurring on nine of seventeen type 2.1.3 brooches where the top-knob survives. It may well be this latter shared feature that associates types 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 on the correspondence analysis.

Unlike the other sub-group 2.1 types, type 2.1.3 does not have an easily defined miniature sub-group 2.2 counterpart. There is a small number of significantly smaller examples, but only two of them show the typical sub-group 2.2 tendencies toward integrally cast side-knobs (both are illustrated in Plate 7). Additionally, three of these smaller brooches have tabbed top-knobs, which is a feature unknown among sub-group 2.2 but common in sub-group 2.1, especially among type 2.1.3 brooches. Although this lack of a smaller counterpart results in a slight asymmetry in the typology, in this case it is harder to argue for the creation of an independent smaller type.

Projecting, stalk-like eyes are particularly prominent on a number of brooches from northern Norway (Reichstein's type *Skøgoya*), but type 2.1.3 finds its best Scandinavian parallels among a group of brooches from Sweden that fall into Reichstein's type *Götene*.³² In England, type 2.1.3 has a very similar distribution to the preceding two types, being distributed largely in East Anglia, the East

³² Reichstein 1975, Pl. 73.

Midlands and Lincolnshire, with perhaps a slightly greater westward tendency than any other type in group 2 (Figure 12).

Type 2.1.4 "Sancton" (#334–365)

Spiral-shaped nostrils define the feet of type 2.1.4, though they tend to be tighter, smaller comma-shapes than the broad circular forms seen among group 3 (Figure 12.2, Plate 8). These brooches also display a stronger tendency toward trapezoid head-plate wings than the rest of sub-group 2.1, with eleven out of fourteen cases with surviving complete head-plates featuring this arrangement. They also often feature a brow with a slight ridge at its base and a clear division down its centre that occurs occasionally through group 3 and which may in fact derive from the representation of ears on a small number of overseas and Kentish examples (Figure 12.2, Plate 8.2).³³ Although they remain distinctive, these features place type 2.1.4 in relatively close typological proximity to group 3. Like other sub-group 2.1 brooches, type 2.1.4 generally have separately cast side-knobs and a single spring axis lug. Top-knob forms are highly various, including two of the three instances in group 2 of the unusual grooved top-knob (e.g. Figure 12.2), and three of the seven rounded top-knobs with a small protrusion. It is perhaps noteworthy that the distribution of type 2.1.4 shows a slight northerly tendency (Figure 12), especially compared to the preceding types, perhaps related to those Scandinavian and northern Germanic resonances in its style. Unlike the preceding types, type 2.1.4 is also more restricted to the eastern part of England, with only a slight spread into the Midlands and beyond.

Type 2.2.1 "Owersby" (#385–409)

Type 2.2.1 brooches are the miniature versions of type 2.1.1 (Figure 13.1, Plate 9). As such, they are defined by their diminutive size and the lack of a brow on their feet. There are only a very small number of complete examples, which are all quite heterogeneous, besides an exceptionally minute pair from Little Wilbraham (#399 and #400, Plate 9.1–2). Accordingly, they represent a miscellaneous collection of small brooches that all lack brows rather than a distinctive, obviously related type. They all have cast side-knobs, they tend toward narrow bows and most have rectangular head-plate wings. Overall, they vary significantly in terms of their general size and proportions. Type 2.2.1 has an unremarkable distribution in East Anglia, Lincolnshire and the Midlands, highly comparable to that of their larger counterparts (Figure 13).

³³ Compare, for instance, with the more obviously intended ears on examples from Westerwijtwerd in the Netherlands (Reichstein 1975, Pl. 72, 1), Hammoor in Schleswig-Holstein (ibid., Pl. 81, 7) and perhaps most convincingly Kjærgårds mose in Denmark (ibid., Pl. 144, 7). This feature is perhaps also loosely related to the ears on the group 1 Kentish foot (Figure 5.20).

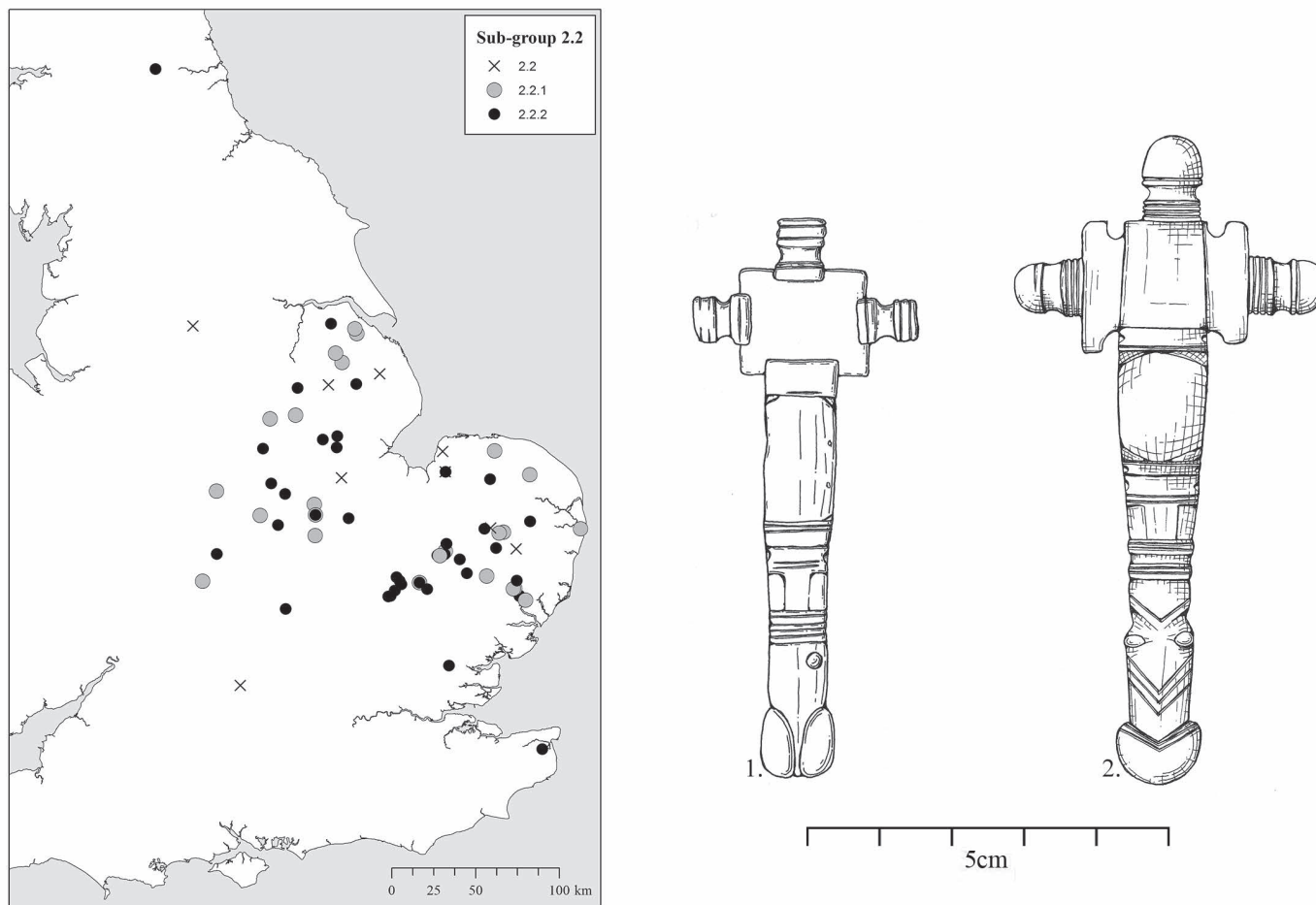


Figure 13. 1. #404 Owersby, Lincolnshire (2.2.1); 2. #450 Trumpington, Cambridgeshire (2.2.2).

Type 2.2.2 "Hatton" (#410–459)

Type 2.2.2 brooches, the miniature versions of type 2.1.2, possess semi-circular or heart-shaped nostrils and a brow (Figure 13.2, Plate 10.1 and 2). Unlike type 2.2.1, a large number of them have almost identical feet with a characteristic narrowing above the eyes and obviously joined nostrils. Many of these near identical examples (Figure 13.2 is one of them) also have the relatively rare feature of a semi-circular notch where the head-plate wings meet the central panel. As such, this small group represents an unusual instance of widespread, intentional homogeneity in the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches series, a feature that is very rare before group 4. Attachment loops on the foot also occur among brooches of type 2.2.2, though they are scarce. As is typical for most miniature brooches, nearly all type 2.2.2 brooches have cast side-knobs. All their side-knobs and top-knobs are plain domes, which is also typical of sub-group 2.2. These brooches, alongside their larger counterparts in type 2.1.2, thanks to their abundance and highly consistent design, form the core of group 2. As such, it is not surprising that they have typical distribution in East Anglian and Lincolnshire, with a few examples spread across the Midlands (Figure 13).

Type 2.2.3 "Osbourneby" (#460–508)

Type 2.2.3 share the spiral-shaped nostrils of their larger counterparts in type 2.1.4 (Figure 14.1, Plate 10.3 and 4). Most tend toward the tight comma-shape, but some are somewhat broader, approaching the forms found among group 3 brooches. Many also share the trapezoid head-plate wings common among their larger versions and also in group 3. However, because they lack a foot terminal (and lappets) they still belong safely in group 2, but their presence here in many cases could be considered marginal. Like their larger versions in type 2.1.4, type 2.2.3 brooches show a slight northerly tendency, though this does not really extend beyond the Humber (Figure 14). Hence, if these brooches were slightly more developed copies of type 2.1.4, the stronger northerly pull among that type might be considered a relatively earlier feature. Like all members of sub-group 2.2, finds from the north of the Humber are very rare indeed.

Type 2.2.4 "Rothwell" (#509–522)

Type 2.2.4 are defined by a foot with clearly separated and circular nostrils (Figure 14.2, Plate 11.1 and 2). Uniquely, for sub-group 2.2, they do not have larger counterparts, but appear almost intermediate between sub-groups 2.2 and 3.4 (see below, pp. 60–2). This is a small group of heterogeneous brooches and although they display some similarities with type 2.2.3, they seem to possess little relationship with other group 2 forms beyond their basic design. Despite the miscellaneous nature of this type, they have a surprisingly well-defined distribution in East Anglia and the East Midlands, with just one far-flung outlier in East

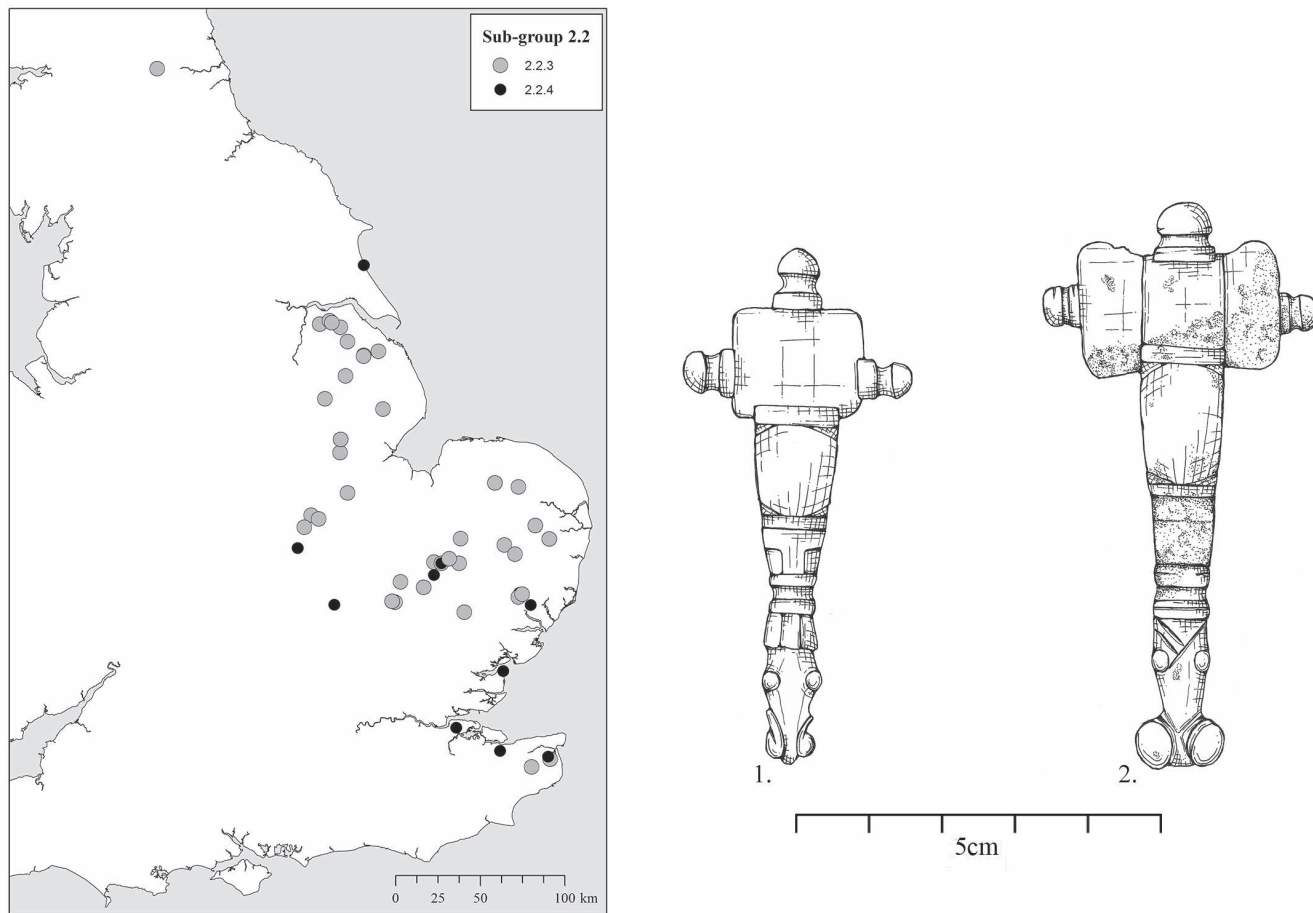


Figure 14. 1. #465 Barrington, Cambridgeshire (2.2.3); 2. #519 Rothwell, Northamptonshire (2.2.4).

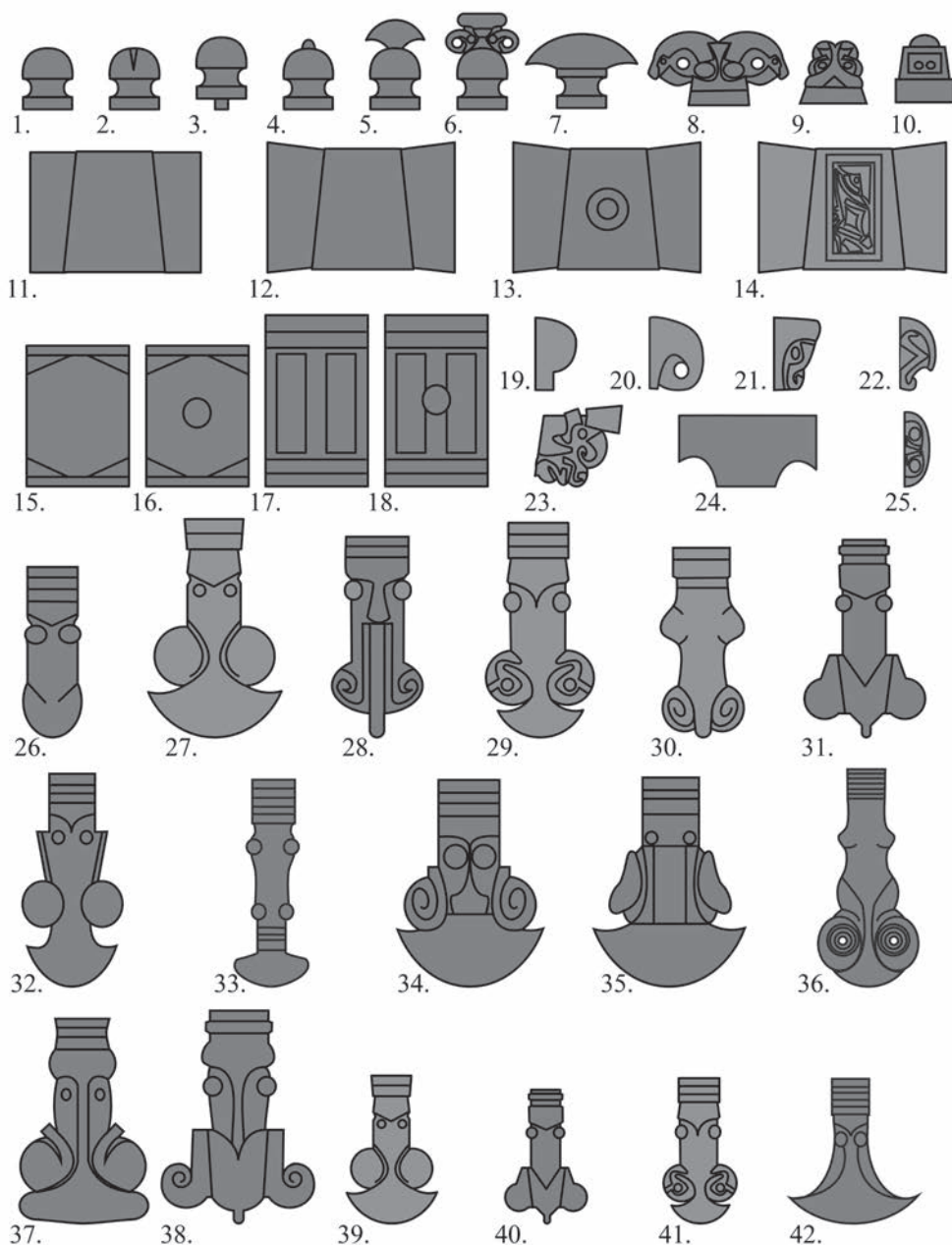


Figure 15. Group 3 components (not to scale).

Yorkshire. Their distribution down through Essex and into Kent is also worthy of note.

Group 3 Cruciform Brooches

With 563 fragmentary and complete members, group 3 is the most numerous of the four major groups by a considerable margin. Accordingly they are the most typical members of the Anglo-Saxon series. Their abundance is matched by their stylistic diversity, encompassing as it does a wide variety of forms sorted into a relatively large number of six sub-groups and twenty-one types. Nevertheless, all members of group 3 are associated by two main characteristics both of which essentially amount to lateral, planate extension: a zoomorphic foot with a crescentic or spatulate terminal and/or a pair of lappets projecting laterally from the catch-plate. Many other features are common among group 3 brooches, such as knobs with excrescences, larger trapezoid head-plate wings, laterally expanding nostrils and additional geometric decoration on the head-plate or catch-plate. However, these aspects, though largely new to group 3, are only present with varying frequencies between the types. Once again, at either end of group 3, in sub-groups 3.0 and 3.5 there are brooches that could sit almost equally comfortably in groups 2 and 4.

Unlike group 2, and even more unlike group 1, it is very difficult to find any overseas equivalents to group 3. One or two brooches from the Netherlands could easily be mistaken for Anglo-Saxon examples of group 3 and may in fact be exports from Anglo-Saxon England.³⁴ Besides these few continental parallels, Scandinavian brooches are only comparable in the most general terms. Even these very loose relations are largely limited to the Norwegian series, which expresses a similar tendency for overall enlargement of the form, most obviously seen in the addition of lappets and the elaboration of head-plate knobs. That, however, is about where the similarity ends. The Norwegian brooches do not replicate the lateral, planate expansion of foot terminals seen in the Anglo-Saxon series and neither do their head-plate wings flatten out into trapezoid plates. Instead, the Norwegian brooches expand outward into increasingly three-dimensional, deeply moulded forms. Their knobs become even more rounded and their nostrils tend to expand upwards rather than spreading out into thin plates. While the bow in the Anglo-Saxon series remains relatively plain, those of Norway become more complex, expanding laterally into almost rhomboid forms.

The division of group 3 into sub-groups begins with the aforementioned sub-group 3.0 brooches with their group 2 feet (Figure 15.26), but with the terminals or lappets typical of group 3. Although these brooches could easily sit in either group, because it is generally easier to classify by the presence rather than the absence of a feature, they have been included in group 3, if in a sub-group

³⁴ See Reichstein 1975, Pls. 88 and 89, for instance.

labelled 'zero' to acknowledge their marginal position. Sub-group 3.1 consists of brooches that lack lappets but possess feet typical of group 3 (specifically, Figures 15.27 and 28), found elsewhere in sub-group 3.2, with expanded nostrils and terminals. Sub-group 3.2 is the largest sub-group. They all possess lappets (Figures 15.19–25) and include a diversity of foot forms, most of which have some regional tendencies. While group 2 possesses only sub-groups indicating larger and smaller versions of the same designs, group 3 includes a standard sized sub-group 3.2, an enlarged sub-group 3.3 and a miniaturised sub-group 3.4. These sub-groups primarily express differences in size, but not all types within sub-group 3.2 have smaller and larger versions. Additionally, a raised rectangular ridge running down the median line of their foot can also diagnostically identify the massive cruciform brooches of sub-group 3.3, occasionally replaced by a row of punched lines or dots, lending the zoomorphic foot an almost helmed appearance, also encountered among the largest examples from Norway (Figures 15.37 and 38). Sub-group 3.3 also frequently possess top-knobs with plain excrescences or additional zoomorphic finials (Figures 15.5 and 6). Sub-group 3.4 consists of the miniaturised versions of some of the sub-group 3.2 types. Finally, transitional and notably heterogeneous brooches that possess some group 4 features but retain broadly group 3 foot forms populate sub-group 3.5.

Group 3 heralds the introduction of Salin's Style I to the cruciform brooch series. Style I was a limited repertoire of motifs that decorated metalwork throughout much of Europe. The motifs themselves are generally ambiguously identifiable as either humans or animals, or hybrids of both, executed with a technique known as chip-carving, a Roman technique most likely derived from wood-carving (though it is the mould or model rather than the metal that is carved here), which results in a three-dimensional relief image. Style I apparently ultimately derives from a group of very large and elaborate square-headed brooches manufactured in Jutland and possibly Kent.³⁵ These brooches display the full range of motifs that are found elsewhere, generally in less abbreviated forms. The Style I motifs applied to group 3 cruciform brooches is generally limited to lappet decorations (e.g. Figures 15.21–23 and 15.25), but some brooches feature the same motifs on their feet (e.g. type 3.2.3, Figure 15.29) as well as one on top-knob finials (Figure 15.6), entire top-knobs (Figures 15.8 and 9 and potentially a much simplified version on Figure 15.10) and very occasionally on head-plates (Figure 15.14), though the latter Style I panels are far more common among group 4 brooches. Although some types certainly show preference for specific lappet designs, identical motifs feature on brooches with widely differing foot forms and associations between foot types and lappet types is never absolute. Group 3 cruciform brooches employed only two basic motifs, although derivations of these two designs result in a wide spectrum of specific designs. These two motifs were the 'helmed profile' and 'biting beast', encountered widely elsewhere on material from England as

³⁵ Haseloff 1981, but see Høilund Nielsen 2009 for a more recent account.

well as further afield. The helmed profile consists of a cap, nose guard, eye and a moustache (Figure 15.21, in this instance the cap and nose-guard are joined) but versions that are more elaborate additionally feature helmet plumes, curled eyebrows and other minor features (Figure 15.23). This motif can be read one of two ways: as a human profile with a moustache, or as a bird profile with a curving beak. Although its execution is slightly different, the zoomorphic top-knob finials that occasionally feature on group 3 brooches also feature the helmed profile motif as a human mask flanked by two bird profiles (Figures 15.6 and 15.8). The ambiguity of the helmed profile motif was explored enthusiastically through the remainder of the cruciform brooch series, and it is especially prominent among group 4 brooches. The biting beast was both a simpler and rarer motif that was more prevalent in the north, consisting of a curving neck with sinuous, curled jaws (Figure 15.22). The biting beast occasionally has an eye, and sometimes even a pellet in its mouth, which appears to derive from more elaborate versions of the motif that feature the biting beast gripping a human head (see Figure 45.8, p. 155). Simplifications of these two motifs resulted in plain lappets with a characteristic outline of one or the other. P-shaped lappets (Figure 15.19) share the same outline as the biting beast, while C-shaped or hemispherical lappets share the same outline as the helmed profile. The spiral lappets (Figure 15.20) almost certainly result from progressive simplifications of the helmed profile motif.³⁶ These Style I motifs and their development will be revisited in Chapter 4.

Group 3 types are once again defined by their foot forms. The twenty-one types that make up this group consist of small, medium and large versions of eleven distinct foot forms, excluding the group 2 forms in sub-group 3.0. A wide range of forty-two components was defined, plus one further attribute state designating the absence of lappets. These included the lappet forms described above and some of their dominant derivatives (Figure 15.19–25), which replace the catch-plate proportions used in the correspondence analyses of groups 1 and 2. Thanks to the increased level of elaboration in group 3, head-plates and bows could also be classified by decoration rather than proportion. The plain rectangular and trapezoid winged head-plates of group 2 are carried over to group 3 (Figure 15.11 and 12), but are now accompanied by a version of the latter decorated with predominantly geometric shapes (such as ring-and-dot, trefoils and quatrefoils, Figure 15.13), or, very rarely and only in sub-group 3.5, with a Style I panel (Figure 15.14). Bows could be plain, with a boss, with a transverse ridge, or with both (Figures 15.15–18). Top-knob forms also diversify even further than in group 2, with a number carried over from that group (Figure 15.1–4), joined by some new forms including versions with crescentic or zoomorphic finials (Figure 15.5 and 6) and some rare examples where the Style I motifs take over the whole top-knob form (Figure 15.7–10). The largest and most elaborate versions of these (Figure 15.8) become almost standard in group 4.

³⁶ See Martin 2013 for a fuller account of the significances of these motifs on cruciform brooches.

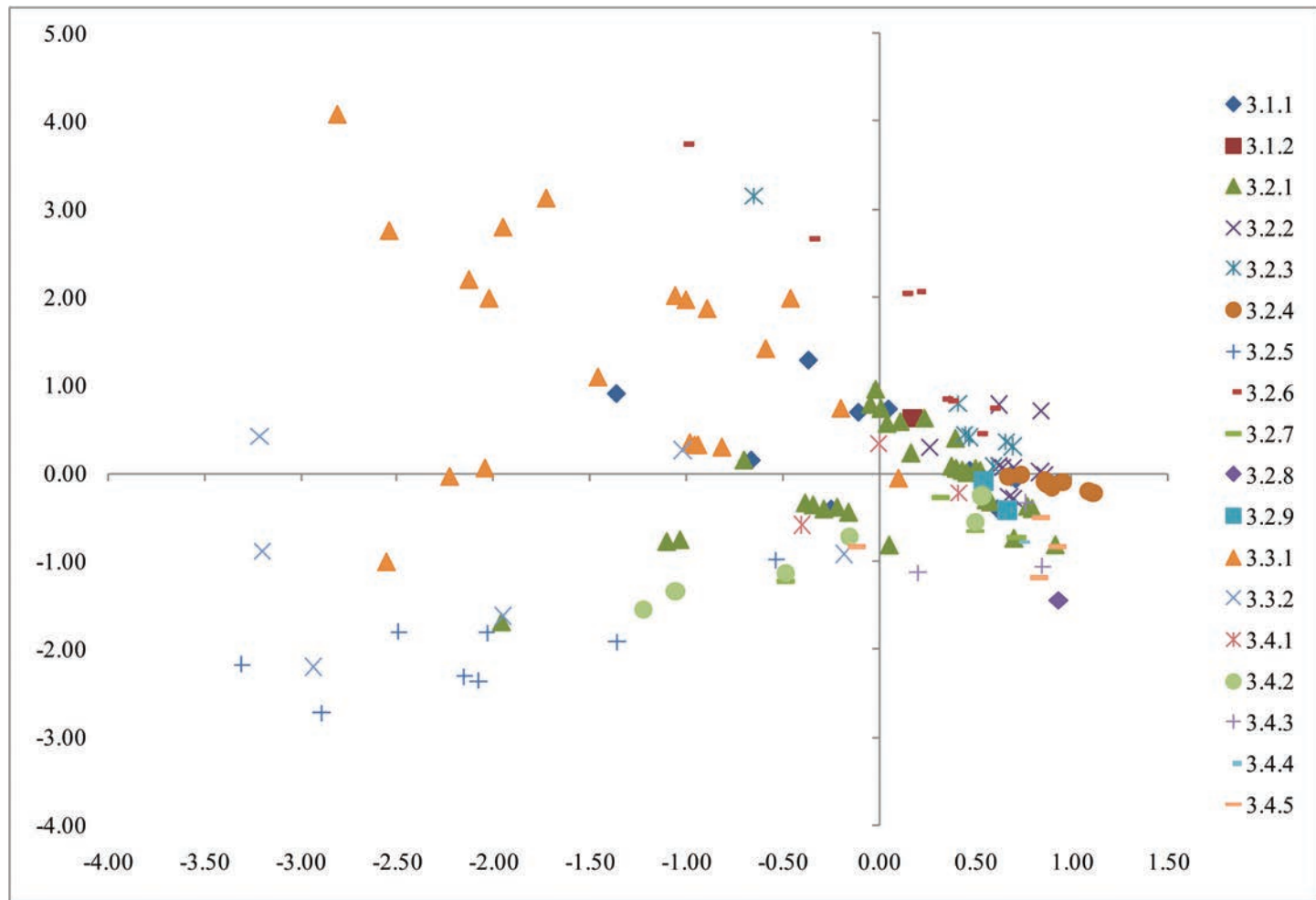


Figure 16. Group 3 correspondence analysis.

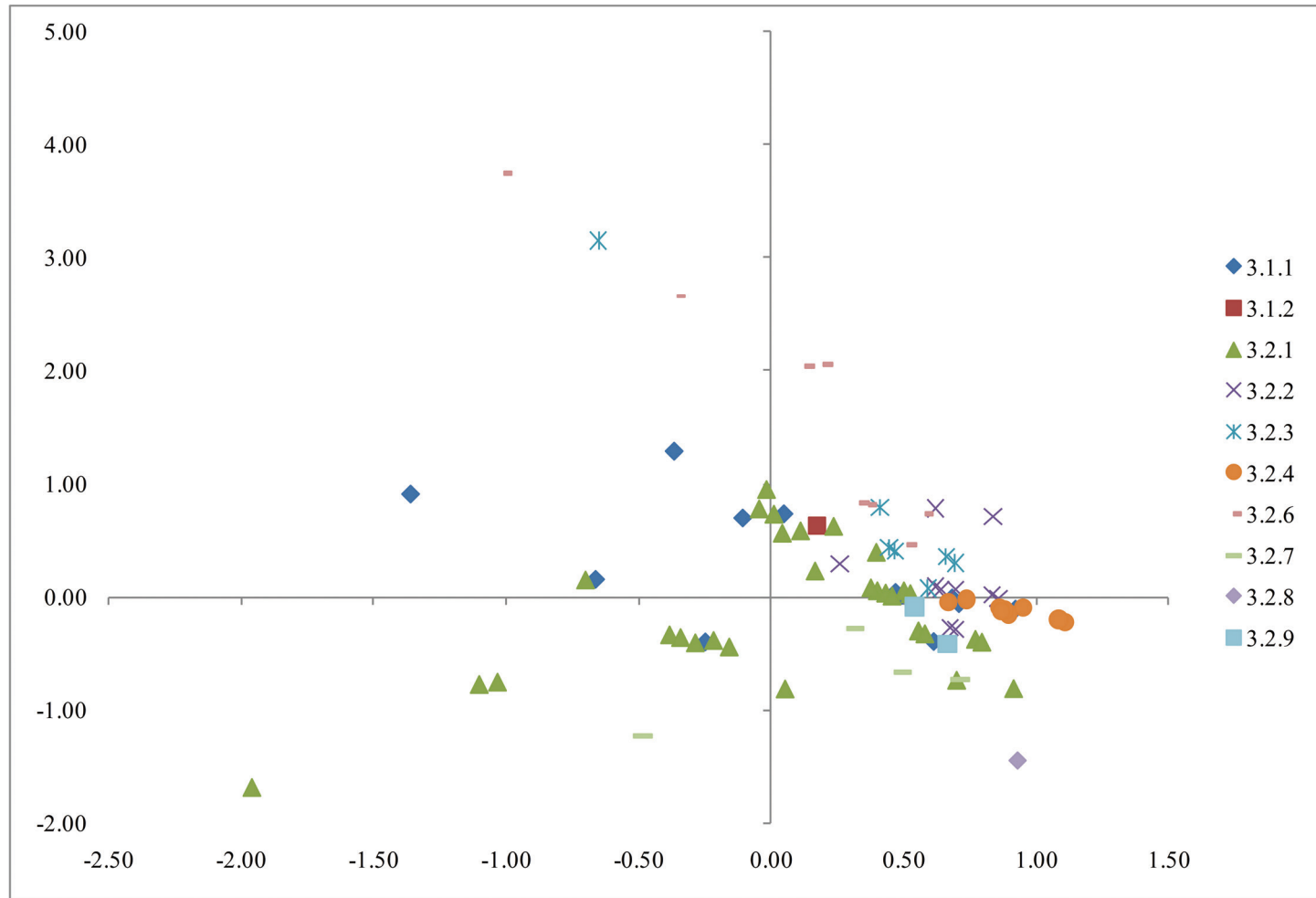


Figure 17. Enlarged correspondence analysis of group, excluding sub-groups 3.3 and 3.4 as well as type 3.2.5.

For the correspondence analysis, sub-groups 3.0 and 3.5 were removed entirely due to their mixing of components from groups 2 and 4 respectively and hence their already obviously peripheral relationship to the rest of group 3. Of the forty-two components illustrated in Figure 15, two of them only occur once on complete brooches, which were therefore removed from the analysis. These included the small zoomorphic top-knob (Figure 15.9) and the type 3.2.10 foot (Figure 15.36), effectively removing type 3.2.10 from the analysis altogether, as it only has a single complete member. After the exclusion of a further nine brooches that possessed one or more miscellaneous and unclassifiable components, including the entirety of sub-group 3.5 and hence all instances of the head-plate with a Style I panel, this left 282 complete group 3 brooches suitable for analysis with a total of thirty-nine possible attribute states.³⁷ As can be seen in Figure 16, the picture this produced was as mixed, if not more so, as it was for group 2. One thing, however, is clear from the analysis. Sub-group 3.3 is clearly separated from the rest of group 3, thanks presumably to the frequent occurrence of bows with bosses (Figure 15.16), decorated head-plates (Figure 15.13), top-knobs with crescentic finials (Figure 15.5) and elaborate lappets (Figure 15.23), most of which are rare among the other sub-groups. Not only that, but similar trends are also seen among sub-group 3.4 brooches, especially type 3.4.2, and most markedly type 3.2.5, which obviously diverges from the rest of its sub-group. The most likely candidate for this pull toward the negative (left) end of axis 1 is the presence of decorated bows and top-knobs with crescentic finials, which are more common among these types than others, as sub-group 3.4 and type 3.2.5 do not often possess those other features common to sub-group 3.3 listed above. In order to clarify the mixed cluster at the centre of Figure 16, Figure 17 shows this area enlarged, with sub-groups 3.3, 3.4 and type 3.2.5 removed. As might be expected, because they share foot forms, sub-group 3.1 occurs only slightly removed from the main sub-group 3.2 cluster, in the broad region of their counterparts with lappets, types 3.2.1 and 3.2.2. Type 3.2.6 is the most obviously removed from this cluster, which might be expected given the common occurrence of head-plate knobs more typical of group 4 among its members. Unusual top-knobs also explain the single outlier from type 3.2.3 in the same region, a point that actually represents two identical brooches, which share the only occurrences of the rare simplified

³⁷ The nine excluded brooches included #933 from grave 358, Morning Thorpe, removed for its miscellaneous lappets that hint at either a helmed profile or a biting beast design. A further nine brooches were removed for having miscellaneous feet, belonging somewhere in sub-group 3.2 but all being unique and lacking decent parallels. These were: #842 (from grave 61, Broughton Lodge), #849 (from Claydon), #869 (from Ixworth), #1009 (from Barnetby le Wold), #1027 (from Thimbleby), #1031 (from Woodstone barrow), #1033 (a unique iron cruciform brooch with copper-alloy, gold and silver inlay from Hoxne, Plate 26), #1034 (from Ufford), #1035 (from grave 177, West Heslerton, Figure 28.2). It may well be the case as the corpus expands that these currently miscellaneous brooches can be designated types.

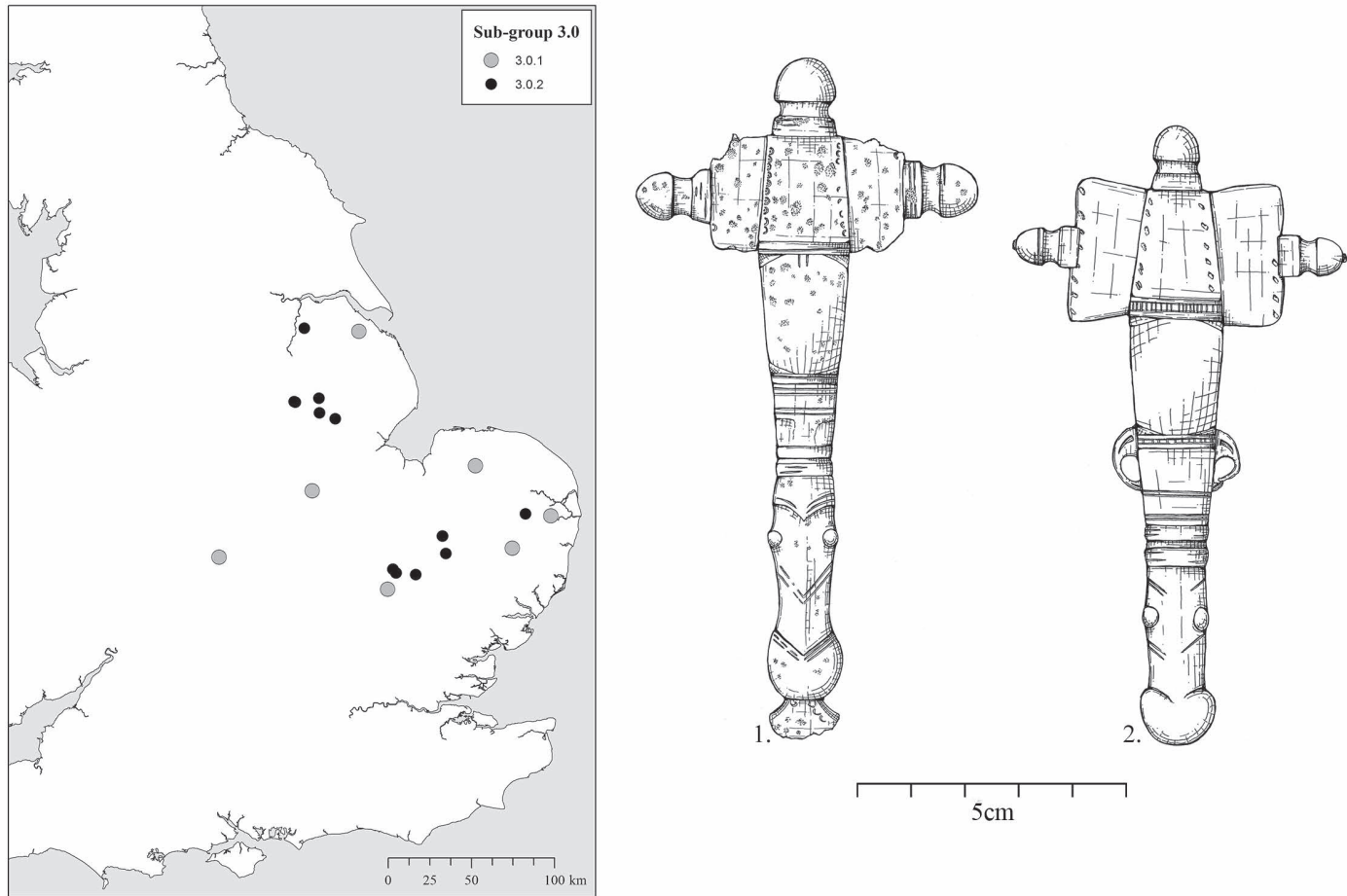


Figure 18. 1. #539 Barrington, Cambridgeshire (3.0.1); 2. #550 grave 39, Girton, Cambridgeshire (3.0.2).

zoomorphic top-knob illustrated in Figure 15.10.³⁸ Otherwise, type 3.2.3 occupies a relatively defined space on the periphery of sub-group 3.2, nearby the equally well-defined type 3.2.4. The remaining minor types all have very few members but are spread broadly within, or on the periphery of the main sub-group 3.2 cluster.

The stylistic structure of group 3 brooches is strongly reminiscent of the very mixed nature of group 2. While some types are quite regularly structured and therefore cluster on the plot, others show an almost indiscriminate mixture of attributes which means we can only successfully classify them by a designated diagnostic feature, which in this case is the specific form of the foot. The results of the correspondence analysis were clearly dominated by bossed bows, the top-knob with a crescentic finial, the most elaborate helmed profile lappets and the diagnostic feet of sub-group 3.3 and type 3.2.5. All the other components control very little of the variation in the correspondence analysis. Nevertheless, some types demonstrably occupy relatively bounded regions on the plot. Hence, in some cases, a specific foot form did attract a particular combination of attributes. Nevertheless, the pull is just not as strong as among those components listed above. The strongest patterning is evident in types 3.2.2, 3.2.3, 3.2.4 and especially 3.2.6. It remains, therefore, to describe these associations in more detail than this simultaneous analysis of all group 3 types permits.

Type 3.0.1 "Welbeck Hill" (#539–545)

These few brooches are defined by their group 2 foot forms, which can be any of those featured in group 2, along with the presence of a crescentic terminus which seems almost awkwardly tacked onto the end of the foot rather than expanding from between the nostrils as is common on most other group 3 brooches (Figure 18.1). They are therefore transitional between groups 2 and 3. For the most part, they adopt a foot form typical of type 2.1.2, though two further examples possess the type 2.1.4 spiral nostrils. Unlike type 3.0.2, they have a dispersed distribution through East Anglia, Lincolnshire and the Midlands (Figure 18).

Type 3.0.2 "Bottesford" (#546–561)

Like type 3.0.1, type 3.0.2 possess feet typical of group 2, but they also have lappets (Figure 18.2, Plate 11.3). In some cases, like type 3.0.1, they can additionally possess a small crescentic terminal. A range of group 2 feet is represented, including the 2.1.1 foot without a brow and its browed type 2.1.2 counterpart. Lappet forms are various, though helmed profiles predominate. This type is highly heterogeneous and displays a wide range of stylistic influences. Despite

³⁸ Both are, in fact, only peripheral members of type 3.2.3, having foot forms clearly tending toward those of sub-group 4.1. They are #762 from grave 1263, Minerva and #767 from St John's, see Plate 16.1.

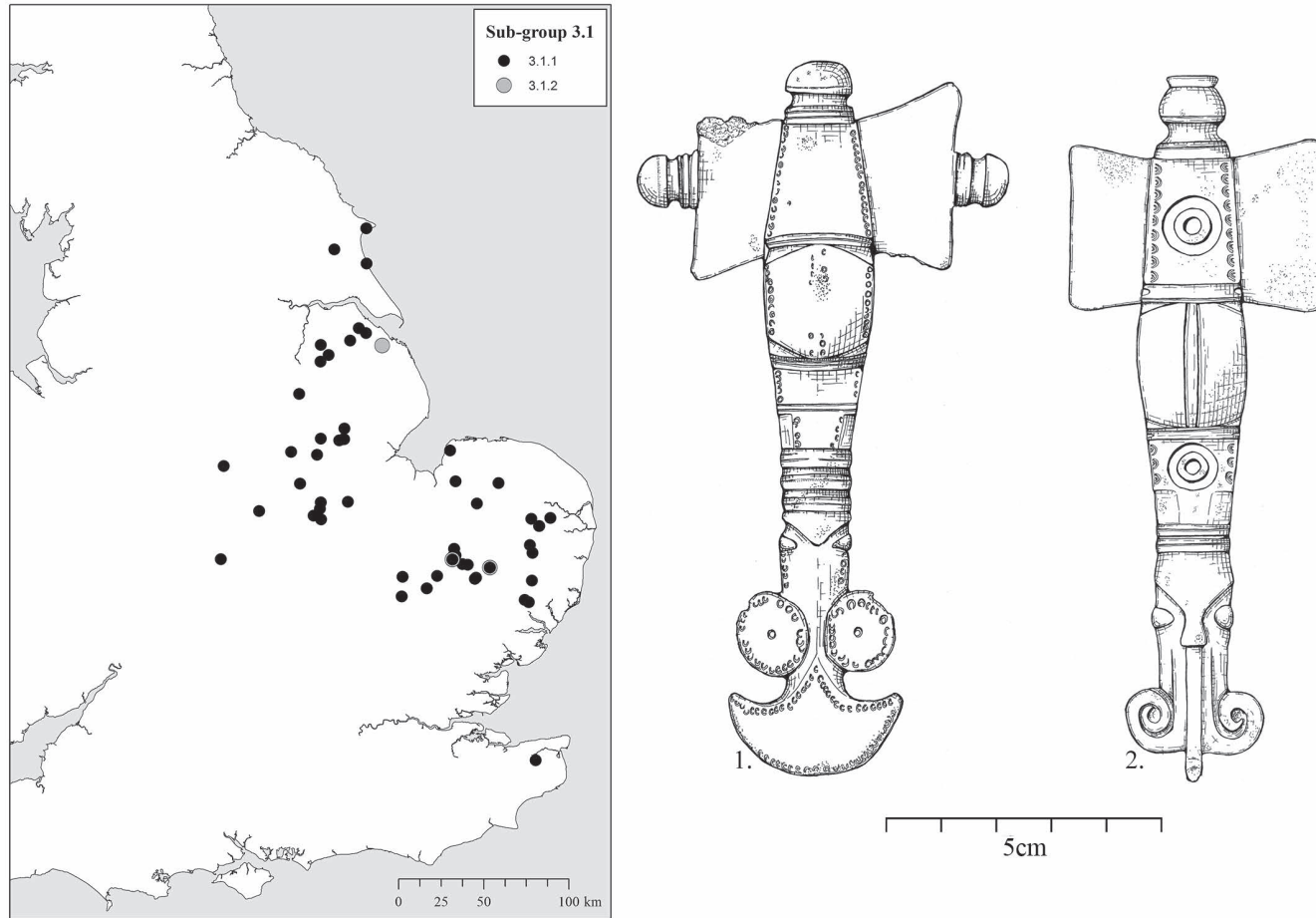


Figure 19. 1. #610 Saxby, Leicestershire (3.1.1); 2. #634 Ixworth, Suffolk (3.1.2).

this heterogeneity, the distribution of the type shows two highly unusual distinct clusters in Lincolnshire and East Anglia, indicating a potentially limited regional production at these two centres (Figure 18).

Type 3.1.1 "Saxby" (#562–633)

The foot form that defines type 3.1.1 is a standard zoomorphic form with spiral or circular nostrils and a terminal expanding downward from between them (Figure 19.1, Plate 12). The shape of the terminus, as with most group 3 types, can be a curving crescent shape, small or large, or a spatulate form (compare Figure 19.1 with Plate 12). These feet are identical to those found on type 3.2.1 brooches. Hence, type 3.1.1 can only be distinguished by its lack of lappets. Head-plate wings are nearly all large and trapezoid. Many of these brooches are quite large and possess top-knobs with zoomorphic finials. For some examples, this may provide grounds for their membership in sub-group 3.3. However, nearly all of these larger examples lack the characteristic ridge running down the median line of the foot that defines sub-group 3.3 (i.e. Figure 15.37). Although rare, brooches that substitute the nostrils for zoomorphic helmed profiles (as in type 3.2.3, see below) are also included in type 3.1.1. The multiple and complex stylistic influences acting upon this type are reflected in their wide distribution that stretches from East Anglia, through the East Midlands and Lincolnshire to the north (Figure 19). Although it is highly unusual to find any group 3 brooches overseas, there are a couple of type 3.1.1 brooches from the Netherlands.³⁹

Type 3.1.2 "Ixworth" (#634–636)

These three brooches possess the same foot as type 3.2.2, which is an anthropomorphic mask with a clearly triangular, humanoid nose (Figure 19.2). Quite where this anthropomorphic imagery comes from is not clear and it may well have been a motif developed on the cruciform brooch itself. The ridge that projects from beneath the nose separating the curled moustaches is an unusual feature that might derive from the similar ridges on sub-group 3.3 brooches. Alternatively, the motif could have been adapted from the great square-headed brooch series, which often feature a human mask below the bow with a similar ridge projecting from beneath dividing the foot-plate in two. However, the motif is not executed in quite the same style. Both of the complete type 3.2.2 brooches are identical and closely distributed in Suffolk (Figure 19). Both also have ring-and-dot decoration, which most likely at one point was inlaid with enamel. It is highly likely that these were products of the same workshop.

³⁹ These are from Beetgum and Wirdum, see Reichstein 1975, Pl. 88, 3 and 5.

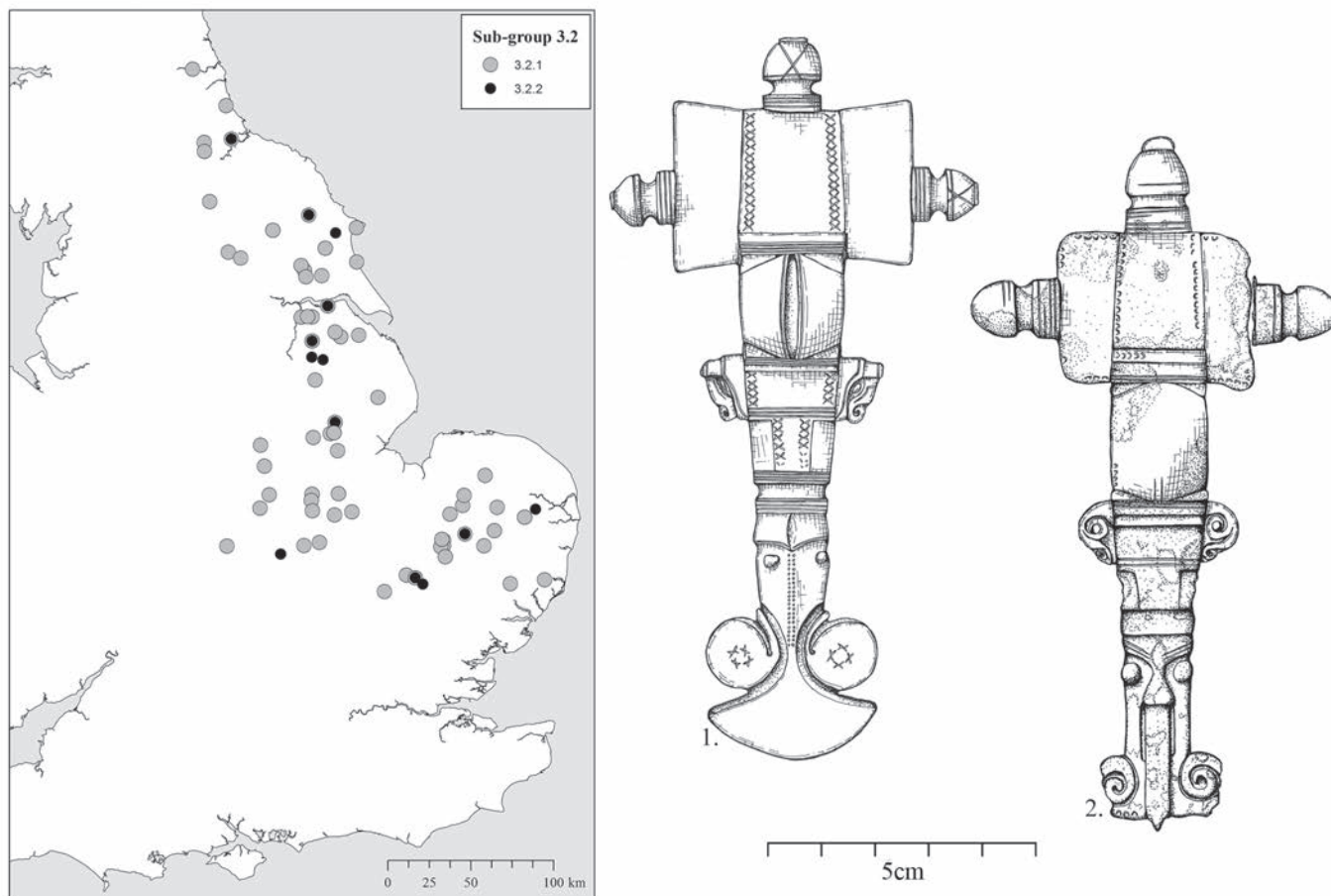


Figure 20. 1. #690 grave 9, Londesborough, Yorkshire (3.2.1); 2. #732 Brixworth, Northamptonshire (3.2.2).

Type 3.2.1 "Londesborough" (#637–731)

With nearly one hundred members, type 3.2.1 is the most highly populated type in the whole cruciform brooch series. As might therefore be expected, it has a wide variety of attribute combinations. As the correspondence analysis demonstrated, these are combined in a relatively indiscriminate manner. The nostrils can take a number of related forms, from the typical wide spiral (e.g. Figure 20.1, Plate 14.1) to a simple circle (Plates 13.2 and 14.2), or more rarely a trilobe shape in which both nostrils and the terminus appear expand from a single central point (Plate 13.1). The top-knob is most commonly a plain dome, but it often features a finial in the shape of a small stub, crescentic plate or zoomorphic form. As in type 3.1.1, the foot terminal varies between a sweeping crescent shape and a spatulate form. The lappet designs are also extremely variable, though the majority are variants or derivatives of the helmed profile motif, which is in any case the most common motif throughout the cruciform brooch series. Predictably, the distribution of this numerous and very general class of brooches is concentrated in all the typical regions of East Anglia, Lincolnshire, the East Midlands, all the way into the far north (Figure 20).

Type 3.2.2 "Brixworth" (#732–752)

Type 3.2.2 features the same foot with the triangular, humanoid nose that defines type 3.1.2 (Figure 20.2, Plate 15). Although a wide range of crescentic and spatulate foot terminal forms can be found among these brooches, the terminal is often just a small stub protruding from between the curled moustaches of the anthropomorphic mask (e.g. Figure 20.2). Similarly to these unexpanded terminals, top-knob forms also tend toward plainer, earlier forms and a couple even have the tabbed form encountered only rarely in group 3, but relatively frequently in group 2 (e.g. Plate 15).⁴⁰ Again, the head-plate forms also tend toward smaller versions with rectangular wings more typical of group 2 brooches. Although this tendency toward more primitive forms characterises the general shape of these brooches, the human mask on their feet relates them more closely to group 4 forms. Hence, in terms of their position in the typology, these brooches seem to be pulled in two directions. Although helmed profile lappets occur twice on 3.2.2 brooches, ten instances of the rarer biting beast lappet occur here, indicating a clear association between a foot and lappet type, which helps to explain the relatively defined space type 3.2.2 occupies on the correspondence analysis. The northern tendency in the distribution of this type is also unusual (Figure 20). Although a few are known from the typical regions of cruciform brooch distribution, the majority of them are found at least as far north as Lincolnshire.

⁴⁰ Of its six occurrences in group 3, the tabbed top-knob more typical of sub-group 2.1 features twice among type 3.2.2, three times on the transitional type 3.0.2 and once among type 3.2.6.

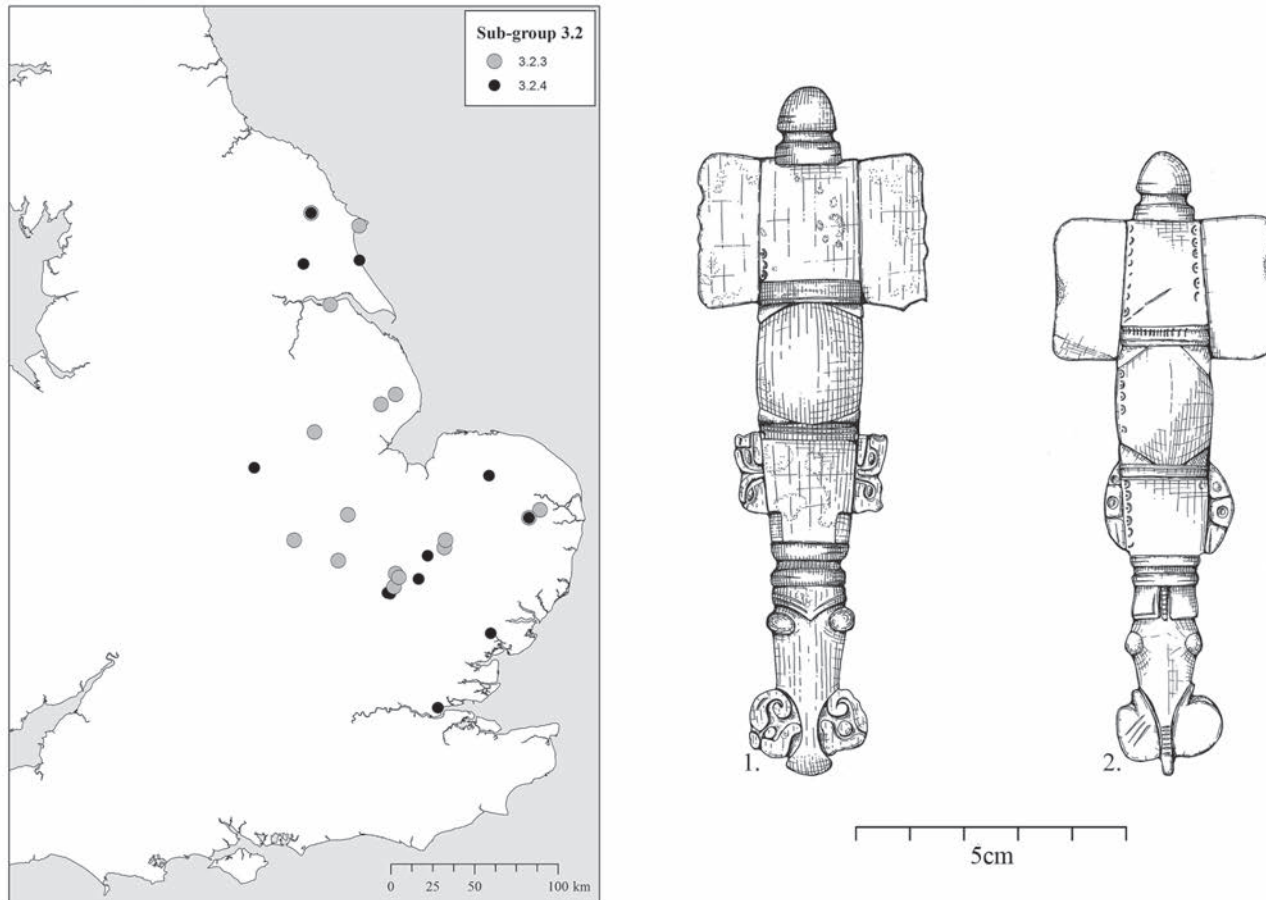


Figure 21. 1. #754 Carlton Scroop, Lincolnshire (3.2.3); 2. #773 grave 1, Hornsea, Yorkshire (3.2.4).

Type 3.2.3 "Haslingfield" (#753–768)

This type is very similar to type 3.2.1, excepting that helmed profile motifs replace the spiralled or circular nostrils (Figure 21.1, Plate 16). In all cases, the Style I motifs on the lappets match those found on the nostrils. This consistent design linking foot form to lappet form is probably the cause of the relatively clustered distribution on the correspondence analysis. Despite this additional Style I, type 3.2.3 brooches mostly remain small and simple and so are easily distinguishable from the group 4 brooches with Style I on their feet. The exceptions to this are two identical brooches from Minerva (grave 1263, #762) and St John's (#767, Plate 16.1) with their wildly expanded zoomorphic nostrils and lappets. At best, these two are peripheral to the type and also feature the only two instances of the simplified zoomorphic top-knob in the whole series. Generally, the top-knobs of type 3.2.3 veer away from the expanded types, tending to be the smaller varieties more typical of group 2. Similarly, their foot terminals tend toward smaller, narrower forms. Type 3.2.3 brooches do not have a distinctive distribution, but like their close relative in type 3.2.1, spread through East Anglia, the East Midlands, Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire (Figure 21).

Type 3.2.4 "Holywell Row" (#769–785)

Type 3.2.4 is defined by a foot with nostrils that are more tightly scrolled and comma-shaped than the broad circular forms more common among group 3 (Plate 17, the example in Figure 21.2 has among the widest nostrils). Hence, they are relatively close to type 2.1.4. Most lack brows, although some have the divided brow or 'ear' form also found among type 2.1.4. If present at all, the foot terminals are generally narrow and short, which again lends them a relatively primitive appearance among group 3 brooches. Similarly, the head-plates of type 3.2.4 tend toward smaller rectangular shapes more typical of group 2. Nine out of these seventeen examples feature the otherwise rare double-helmed profile lappet (Figure 15.25), which only occurs four times on other complete brooches in group 3. This close association between a specific foot form and lappet helps to explain the clustering of type 3.2.4 in the correspondence analysis plot. Type 3.2.4 is dominated by a large set of nearly identical brooches (the examples on Plate 17 are among them) and the type overall is among the most consistently designed in group 3. With this level of consistency in design, it is perhaps unsurprising that the most typical members of type 3.2.4 are quite highly concentrated in the Cambridgeshire region (Figure 21). Although they occur as far afield as East Yorkshire, those from Cambridgeshire are particularly consistent in their design. This type is very similar to Reichstein's type Holywell Row, although he included in that type some members of the present type 2.1.4.

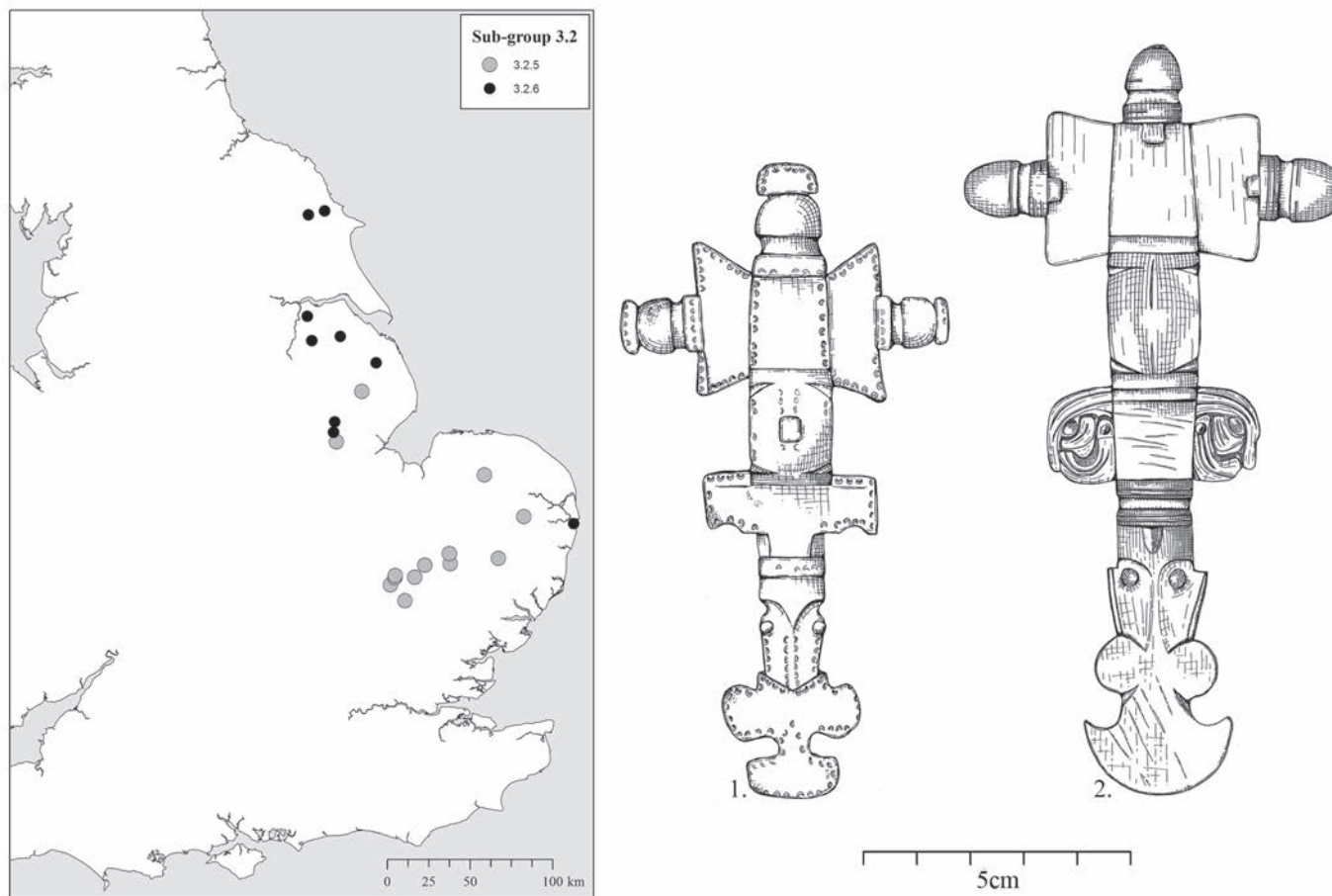


Figure 22. 1. #801 St John's, Cambridge (3.2.5); 2. #807 Louth, Lincolnshire (3.2.6).

Type 3.2.5 "Icklingham" (#786–802)

As the correspondence analysis demonstrated, type 3.2.5 is one of the most consistently designed types in group 3. The correspondence analysis also demonstrated that they stand slightly apart from the rest of the group showing a close relationship only with sub-group 3.3 and 3.4 brooches. Indeed, larger and smaller versions of the foot form occur in both types 3.3.2 and 3.4.3. The foot itself features a zoomorphic mask whose nose is seemingly sheathed in a single element incorporating both nostrils and the terminus (Figure 22.1; Plate 18.1 is an especially elaborate example). The nostrils themselves can be either circular or P-shaped and occasionally even square. Compared to the other sub-group 3.2 types, type 3.2.5 are usually a little smaller. They frequently feature bosses on their bows and they often have rectangular top-knob finials. However, they never feature the zoomorphic finials encountered widely among types 3.1.1, 3.2.1 and 3.3.1. Lappets occasionally take the common helmed profile form, but more often they consist of plain plates continuous with the catch-plate (Figure 15.24). Many of these type 3.2.5 brooches feature a plethora of punched decoration, sometimes of quite complex, composite forms that required more than one punch design. Among group 3 brooches, therefore, type 3.2.5 (alongside their larger and smaller counterparts in types 3.3.2 and 3.4.3) are unusual. This, combined with their consistent combinations of certain attribute states, contributes to their peripheral position on the correspondence analysis plot. As might be expected for such a tightly defined type, their geographical distribution is also remarkably restricted (Figure 22). Type 3.2.5 brooches are a distinctively East Anglian and south Cambridgeshire variety, especially concentrated around the Lark Valley, with only a small number of outliers in south Lincolnshire.

Type 3.2.6 "Louth" (#803–812)

Type 3.2.6 are a northern type distributed exclusively in Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire. They are defined by an unmistakably large foot, which has characteristic lateral expansions each side of the eyes formed by the extension of the P-shaped nostrils all the way up to the brow (Figure 22.2, Plate 18.2). Occasionally, these nostrils take the form of a helmed profile motif, similar to that found in type 3.2.3. Type 3.2.6, however, shows a closer relationship with group 4 as it includes a small number of examples with florid zoomorphic head-plate knobs, far more typical of group 4 (e.g. Figure 15.8). Indeed, of the six group 3 brooches that feature this variety of top-knob, four of them belong to type 3.2.6. The lappets of type 3.2.6 predominantly feature helmed profiles or derivatives of them. This high level of consistency in their design and their close links with group 4 earn them a relatively peripheral and distinct cluster on the correspondence analysis and are echoed by their almost isolated distribution in northern England (Figure 22).

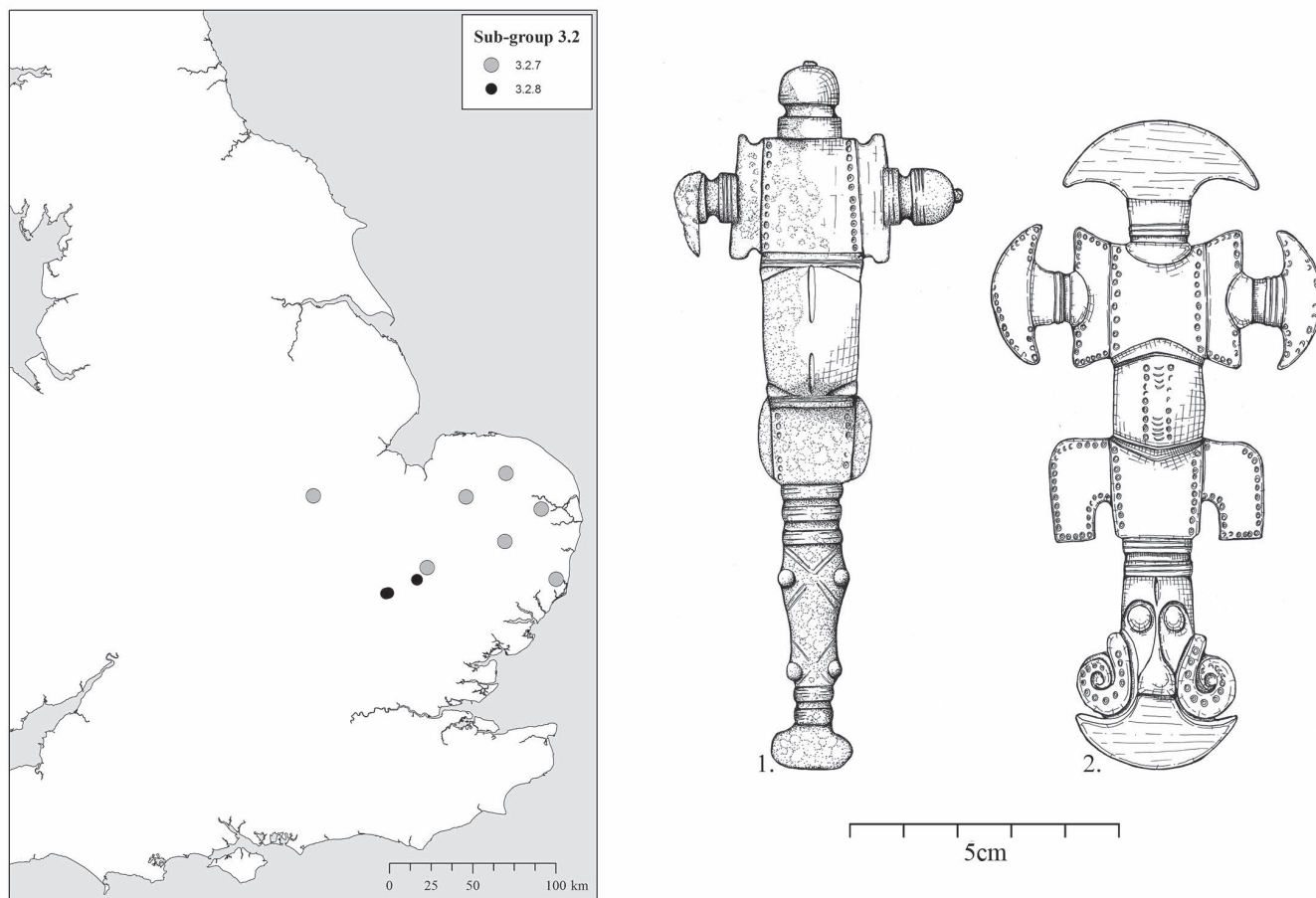


Figure 23. 1. #819 Snape, Norfolk (3.2.7); 2. #823 grave 81, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (3.2.8).

Type 3.2.7 "Snape" (#813–820)

Type 3.2.7 is characterised by an unusually slender foot featuring small dotted nostrils about the same size as the eyes (Figure 23.1, Plate 19.1). The terminal of the foot varies between a flattened crescent and a small, rounded plate. The lappet forms are all plain plates or simple spirals and the top-knobs are all basic domes with small protrusions. Like the relatively narrow foot, the head-plate wings of this type are also relatively slender, although most are still trapezoid. Their highly consistent design means that they belong to a relatively discrete cluster on the correspondence analysis. Like the other consistently designed but rare types they have a highly restricted distribution, which in this case is virtually limited to East Anglia (Figure 23).

Type 3.2.8 "Edix Hill" (#821–823)

Type 3.2.8 is a very unusual but highly characteristic form of cruciform brooch with only two definite examples (Figure 23.2, Plate 19.2).⁴¹ The foot form is unusual and features a rounded triangular humanoid nose and two tightly scrolled spirals as moustaches. The head-plate knobs are exceptionally large and crescentic for group 3 brooches, resembling some of those found in sub-group 3.5. The bow is of a unique shape that narrows at its apex, curving and expanding slightly where it meets the head-plate and catch-plate. At least one of these brooches (#823, Figure 23.2) was gilded, which is also very rare among group 3 brooches. Additionally, the lappets are an unusual and undecorated L-shape, only encountered elsewhere very rarely among type 4.7.2 and sub-group 3.4. Type 3.2.8 has only been found in a very specific region in south Cambridgeshire (Figure 23). This, together with their very unusual designs, is strongly suggestive of a single origin in the same workshop.

Type 3.2.9 "Flixborough" (#824–828)

Type 3.2.9 is another very rare type with only two complete examples and three fragments (Figure 24.1, Plate 20). Its designation as a type, like type 3.2.8, is justified by a very distinctive and specific design. They are exceptionally large and robust with a peculiar foot design, which, given its central rectangular ridge, may well be derived from those anthropomorphic forms of type 3.1.2 and 3.2.2, although in this case the ridge is swollen into a more rectangular than linear form.

⁴¹ However, there are three examples in the present corpus. One of these is from Little Wilbraham (#823) but the other two (#821 and 822) are recorded as from Barrington A (Edix Hill) and Barrington B (Hooper's Field). The only record of the latter find is from a nineteenth-century illustration (Foster 1880), but it is remarkably similar to an example that Cambridge Museum records as from Barrington A. Although there are some subtle differences in the illustration and the latter brooch was examined first-hand, they may in fact be the same brooch that has sustained some damage whilst in the museum's collection.

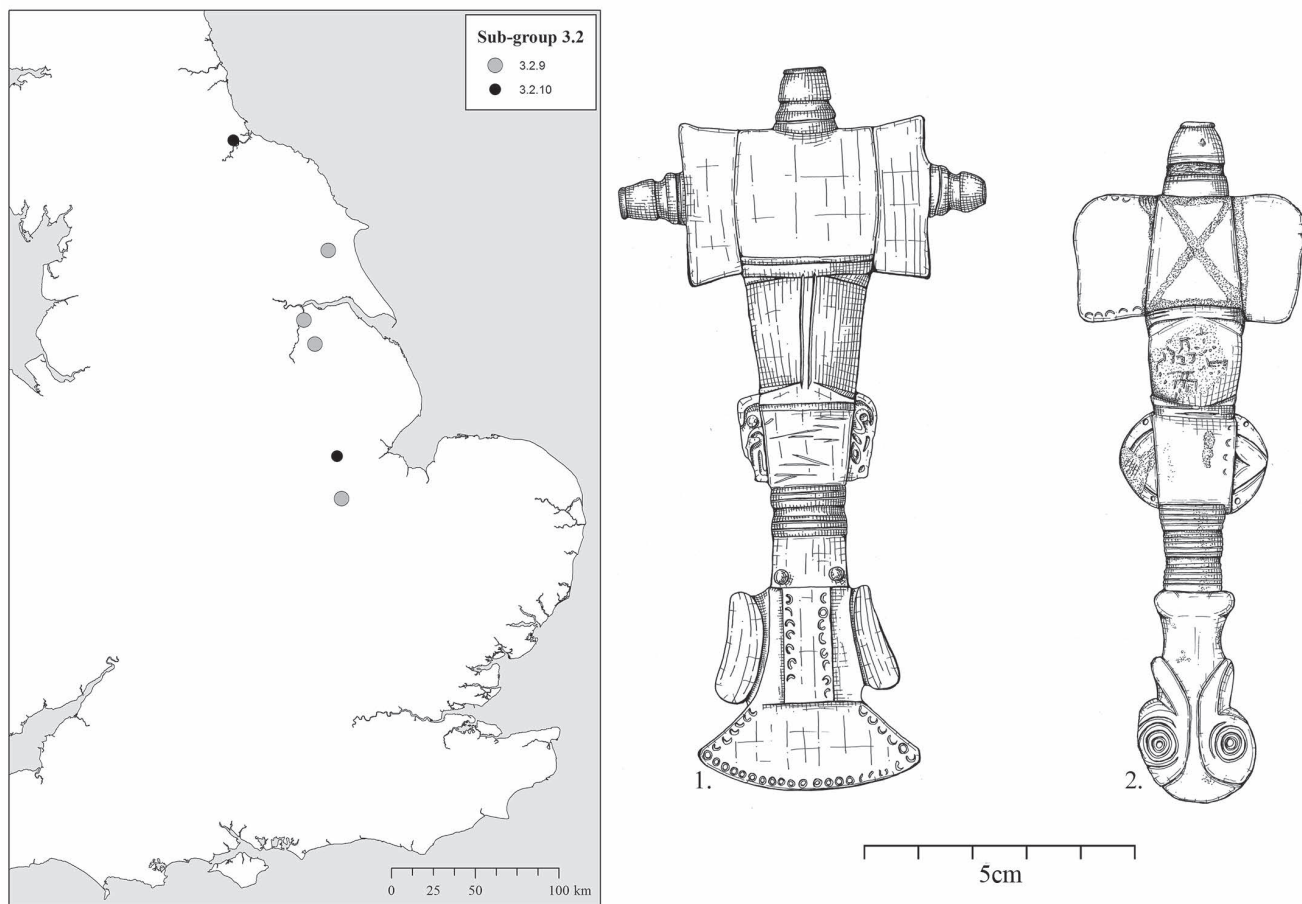


Figure 24. 1. #826 Flixborough, Lincolnshire (3.2.9); 2. #830 grave 63, Norton, Tees (3.2.10).

The nostrils have been reduced to slender kidney shapes situated just above a very broad, sweeping crescentic terminal. Unsurprisingly, this unusual type has a limited distribution around Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire (Figure 24).

Type 3.2.10 "Norton" (#829–830)

Type 3.2.10 has only two members, only one of which is complete, but they are characterised by a highly distinctive foot form (Figure 24.2, Plate 21). The foot may be derived from the standard 3.1.1 or 3.2.1 form, only the eyes are reduced to lateral bulges right at the top of the head, while the spiralled nostrils are massive and extend quite far up the foot. It also has an extended collar with a uniquely large number of ribs for any brooch outside group 1. Like the other types with few members, and although at present it only has two members, type 3.2.10 is limited to Lincolnshire and the far North, although some distance separates both examples (Figure 24).

Type 3.3.1 "Nassington" (#909–939)

Type 3.3.1 brooches are enlarged versions of type 3.2.1 with the standard zoomorphic foot featuring spiral or circular nostrils (Figure 25.1, Plates 22 and 23). However, they have a few additional stylistic differences. Most of these brooches feature a pronounced, thin rectangular ridge that runs down the median line of the nose. If it is not an obviously defined line, then there will at least be an angled ridge at this point, often decorated with punched ornament. The top-knobs of type 3.3.1 brooches often feature zoomorphic finials or plain crescentic terminals. Bosses on bows are also common among this type, as is ring-and-dot decoration on the head-plate or catch-plate. Head-plate wings among type 3.3.1 frequently feature notches where they meet the central panel, similar but not quite the same as those occasionally encountered in group 2. The most common lappet motifs among type 3.3.1 are large and elaborate helmed profiles, frequently featuring additional and ambiguous Style I elements perhaps representing part of a helmet crest. Such elaborate designs are encountered more frequently in group 4 than in group 3 and they probably provided a model for the abbreviated motifs found on the much more common standard helmed profile lappet found among many of the sub-group 3.2 types. Type 3.3.1 is distributed widely throughout East Anglia and the East Midlands though only rarely as far north as Lincolnshire (Figure 25).

Type 3.3.2 "Toddington" (#940–949)

Just as type 3.3.1 brooches represent enlarged versions of type 3.2.1, type 3.3.2 brooches are essentially expanded versions of type 3.2.5, sharing with them the 'sheathed nose' foot design (Figure 25.2, Plate 24). They also share a tendency toward catch-plates that are continuous with plain, rectangular lappets. Bosses on

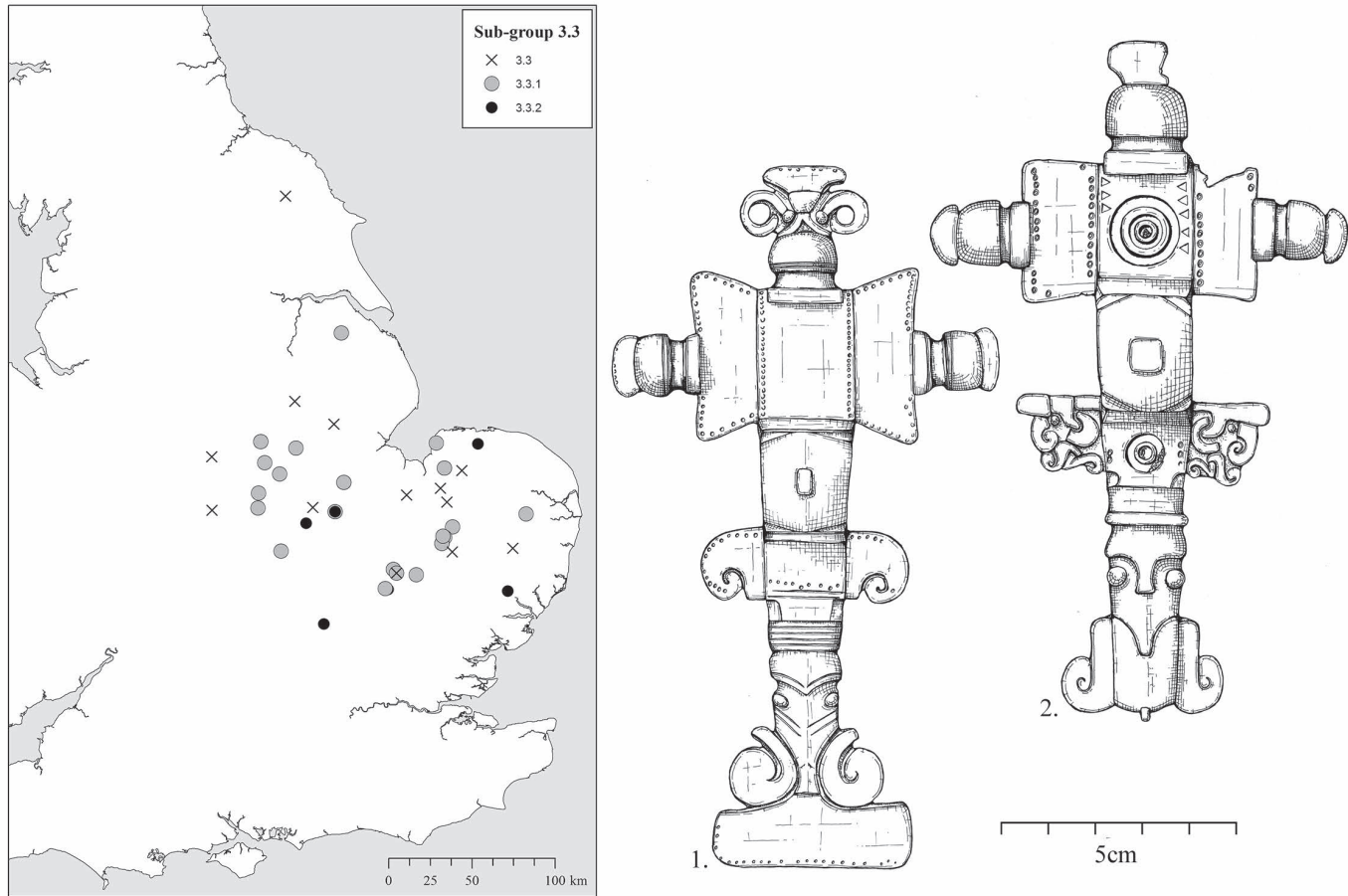


Figure 25. 1. #927 grave 16, Holywell Row, Suffolk (3.3.1); 2. #941 Corby (Harper's Brook), Northamptonshire (3.3.2).

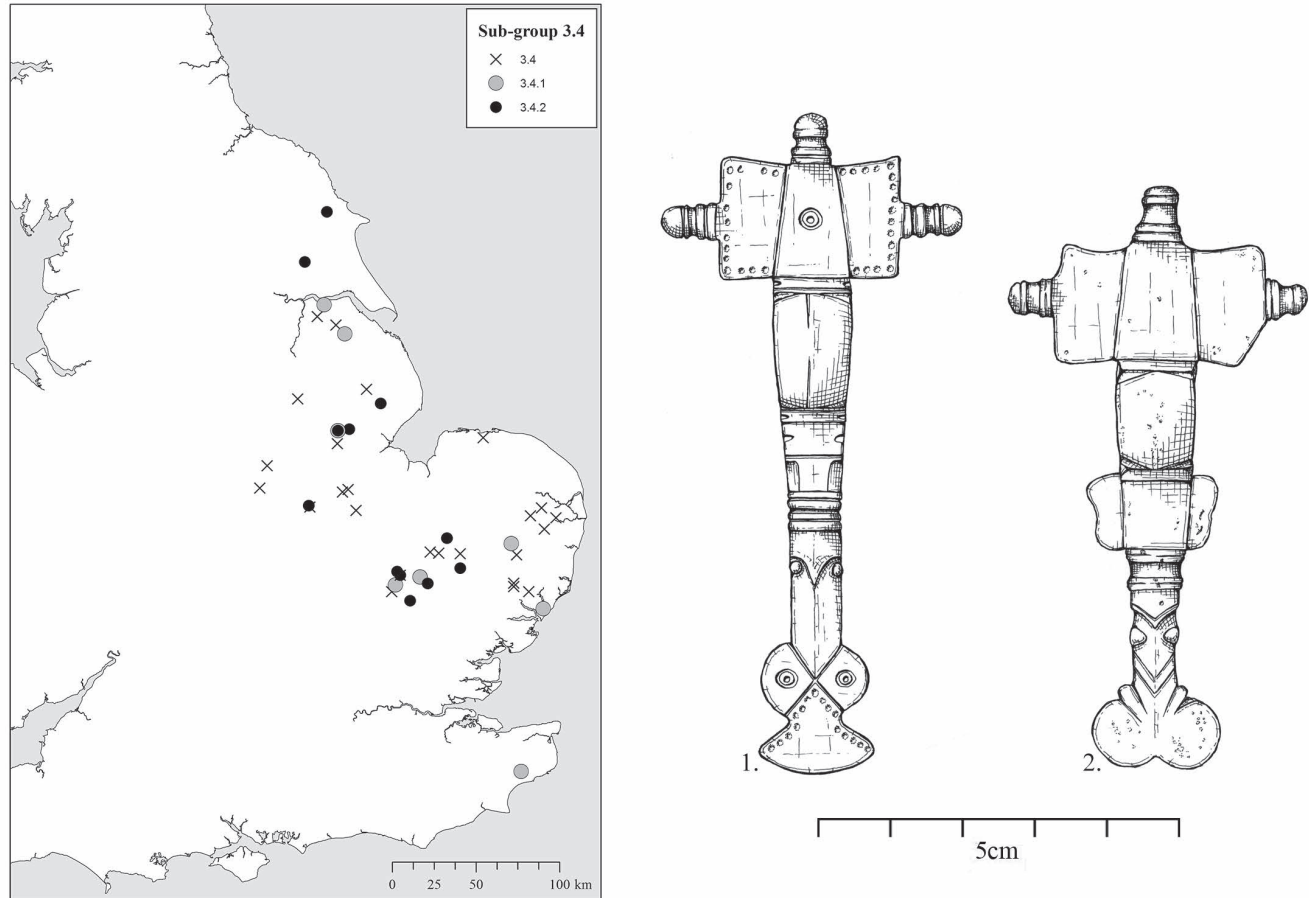


Figure 26. 1. #969 grave 95, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (3.4.1); 2. #983 grave 173–4, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (3.4.2).

the bows are even more common among these larger versions. Like type 3.2.5, but unlike type 3.3.1, they never feature zoomorphic top-knob finials, which instead tend toward very large plain plates (e.g. Plate 24). The foot terminals range from small stubs to massive, rectangular spatulate plates, which again closely associate them with type 3.2.5. As might be expected, type 3.3.2 is similarly limited to the south-east, with a relatively dispersed spread into the East Midlands (Figure 25).

Type 3.4.1 "Sleaford" (#965–975)

Type 3.4.1 are the miniaturised versions of type 3.1.1. As such, they possess the standard spiral nostrils of types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1 but they do not have lappets (Figure 26.1, Plate 25.1). They all have plain top-knobs and most examples have integrally cast side-knobs. Although they all share the same relatively simple design, they represent a heterogeneous range of sizes and specific styles. Their distribution is very similar to their similarly miniaturised relatives in sub-group 2.2, as well as their larger counterparts in type 3.1.1, in that they are rarely found north of the Humber but occur throughout East Anglia and Lincolnshire (Figure 26).

Type 3.4.2 "Great Chesterford" (#976–990)

The foot design of type 3.4.2, being the miniaturised version of that seen on types 3.1.1 and 3.2.1, is the same as that of type 3.4.1 (Figure 26.2, Plate 25.2). However, besides this similarity, these little brooches actually have more in common with type 3.2.5 brooches, including the frequent presence of bosses on bows, catch-plates with continuous lappets and large rectangular finials on their top-knobs. This disparity from their larger counterparts makes these brooches quite unusual in the whole cruciform brooch series and also places them in close relation with type 3.2.5 on the correspondence analysis. However, unlike type 3.2.5, which is largely restricted to the south-east, type 3.4.2 brooches occur surprisingly far north considering the southerly tendencies more typical of these miniaturised versions (Figure 26).

Type 3.4.3 "Lakenheath" (#991–999).

In terms of their foot design, type 3.4.3 are the miniature versions of type 3.2.5 (Figure 27.1, Plate 25.3). However, like type 3.4.2, they do not quite match their larger counterparts in every way. Unlike their larger versions and their sub-group companions in type 3.4.2, these brooches feature neither bosses on bows nor catch-plates that are continuous with plain lappets. Additionally, there is only one example among type 3.4.3 with a plain, rectangular top-knob finial. Their spiral lappets are remarkably consistent and almost identical. Despite their differences to their larger versions in types 3.2.5 and 3.3.2, they share a similarly

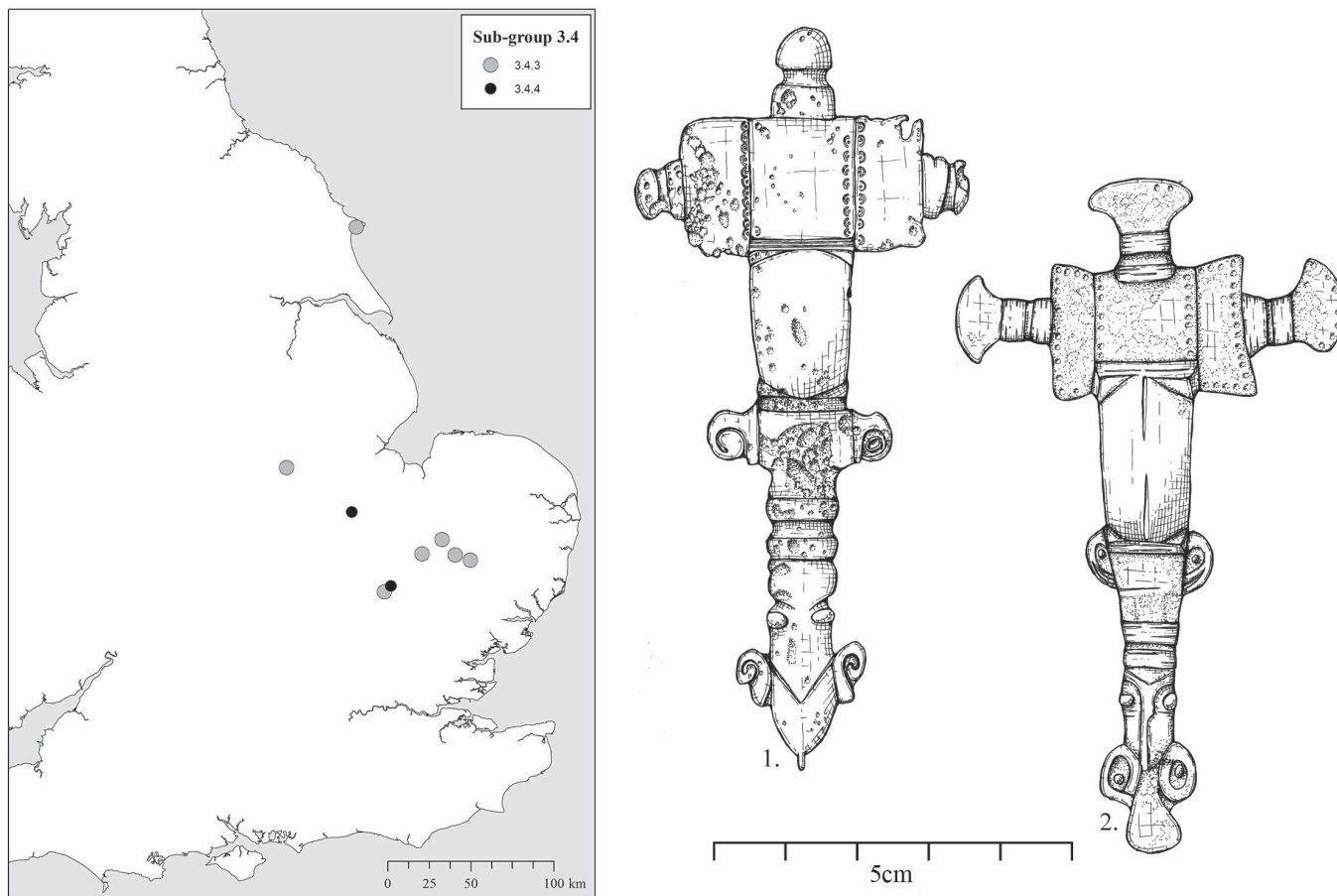


Figure 27. 1. #998 West Stow, Suffolk (3.4.3); 2. #1002 Woodstone Barrow, Cambridgeshire (3.4.4).

restricted distribution in East Anglia and south Cambridgeshire, with a single outlier far away in East Yorkshire (Figure 27).

Type 3.4.4 "Woodstone Barrow" (#1000–1002)

These three brooches represent miniature versions of type 3.2.3. That is, they have smaller versions of the foot with Style I nostrils, although the motifs are very much reduced in size and simplified (Figure 27.2). They all have small and simplified versions of the helmed profile lappet. Additionally, they all have the quite unusual version of a top-knob where the dome is replaced by a crescentic finial (Figure 15.7). Their distribution is limited to Cambridgeshire (Figure 27).

Type 3.4.5 "Sporle" (#1003–1007)

These five brooches are defined by their unusual foot which lacks nostrils altogether but terminates in a sweeping crescent directly below the eyes (Figure 28.1, Plate 41.2). There are two instances of the top-knob with a crescent replacing the dome and where they are present the lappets are plain. One of these brooches (#1005 from grave 111, Little Wilbraham) lacks lappets altogether, though its foot certainly belongs to this type. The type has a limited distribution the south-east, tending toward Cambridgeshire rather than East Anglia (Figure 28).

Sub-Group 3.5 "Hoxne" (#1033–1035)

Sub-group 3.5 features no obviously distinctive forms and therefore features no specific types as yet (Figure 28.2, Plate 26). Instead, the sub-group contains three highly unusual brooches only associated by their transitional status between groups 3 and 4. As such, their head-plate knobs dispense with the classic domes altogether, replacing them with crescentic finials. This places sub-group 3.5 in close relation perhaps to types 3.4.4 and 3.4.5 and perhaps also to group 4. Closer links with group 4 are betrayed by the presence of Style I panels on the head-plates and catch-plates of all three of these brooches. Sub-group 3.5 contains a number of highly unusual and experimental forms. As such, they probably represent a miscellaneous selection of typological dead-ends. It may therefore seem fitting that the sub-group contains the only iron cruciform brooch yet found (#1033 from Hoxne, Plate 26), which is also decorated with particularly fine Style I gold plates, silver plates and inlaid copper alloy. Predictably for such a loose association of brooches, their distribution is dispersed, with one find each from East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (Figure 28).

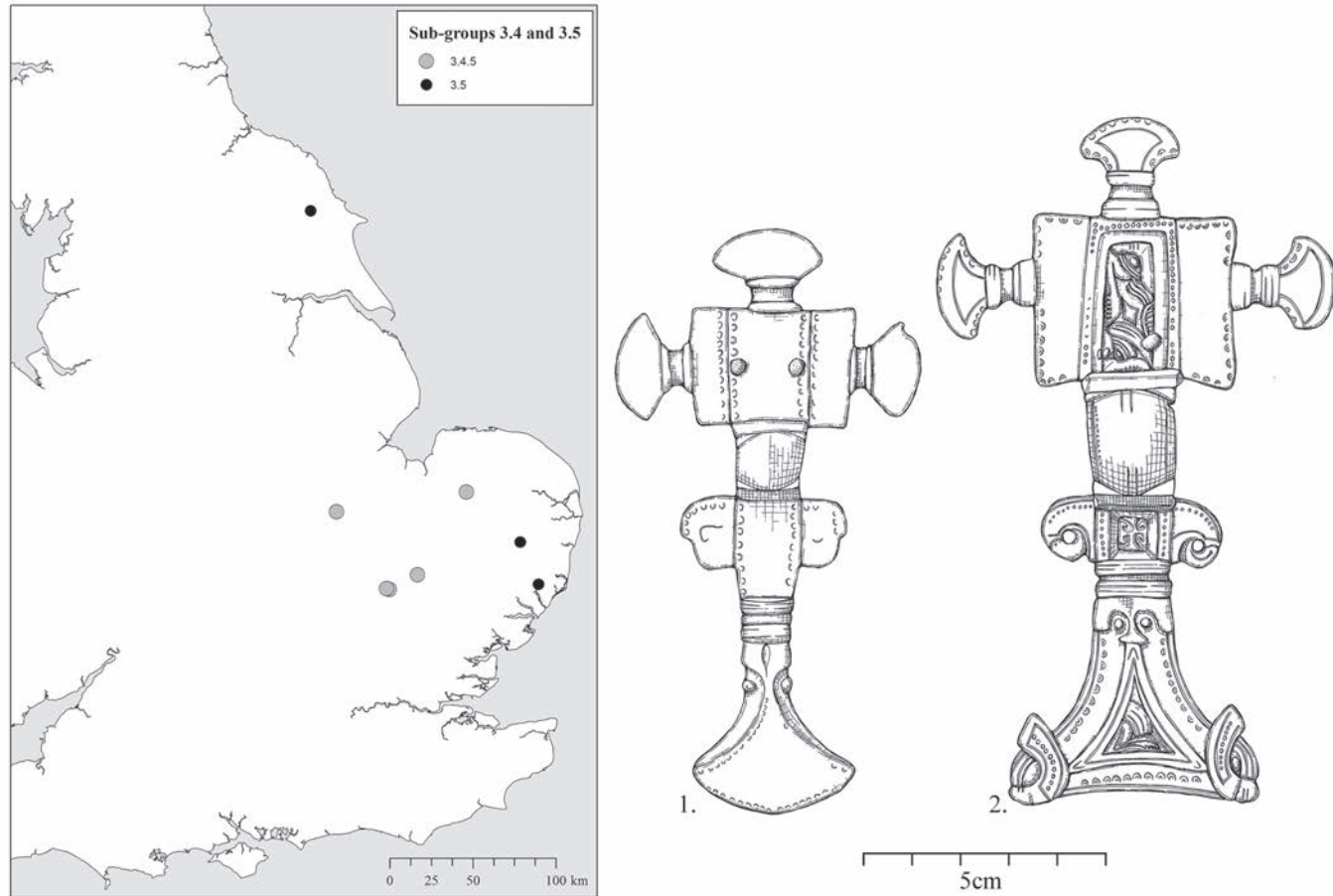


Figure 28. 1. #1004 Barrington, Cambridgeshire (3.4.5); 2. #1035 grave 177, West Heslerton, Yorkshire (3.5).

Group 4 Cruciform Brooches

Group 4 cruciform brooches are defined by their laterally expanded, planate head-plate knobs and feet covered in elaborate Style I motifs. It is these highly ornamental properties that have led to group 4 brooches becoming widely known as the 'florid' series.⁴² As might be imagined, these were ostentatious items that were not only highly elaborate but also very large. Furthermore, many group 4 types were decorated with gold and silver, a style of ornament that has become known as 'bichrome'. Bichrome features on a range of Anglo-Saxon material including great square-headed brooches and shield appliques, and although it was previously thought to define a specific, late chronological range, this view is no longer upheld.⁴³

Although the decoration of group 4 brooches appears to be varied and complex, it actually consists of only a limited range of motifs that, like the lappets in group 3, were apparently copied from brooch to brooch with varying degrees of consistency and invention. For the most part, these Style I motifs were limited to those seen on the lappets and head-plate finials of group 3 brooches, i.e. helmed profiles and biting beasts. However, the execution of these motifs on group 4 brooches is generally more complex as the bodies, masks and profiles have more room for elaboration. For example, while the zoomorphic top-knob finials of group 3 brooches contain a single human mask whose moustache is formed by a pair of flanking helmed profiles, some group 4 brooches feature a similar motif, but one that contains at least four bird heads hidden within the flowing moustaches and hair of the mask. Likewise, the lappets of group 4 brooches tend toward the maximally elaborate versions encountered previously among sub-group 3.3. Group 4 additionally features new motifs that do not occur among typical members of any other groups. These motifs always occur on rectangular or triangular Style I panels, whose shape depends on their location on head-plates, catch-plates or terminals.⁴⁴ The important thing about these particular panels is that they unfailingly depict a motif generally not found elsewhere in the cruciform brooch series: crouching beasts. Although the actual beast is often drastically abbreviated into just a pair of limbs or seemingly meaningless blocks, lines and curves, they invariably derive from a specific motif formed by a pair of crouching beasts, one on top of the other, or each running down two sides of a triangle. Each creature is formed from a helmed profile, a small rectangular body consisting of one, two or three

⁴² This term was not used by Åberg to describe his group V, but was probably introduced by Leeds (1936, 82) as a descriptive term, becoming a formal label in the title of Leeds and Pocock's (1971) 'Survey of the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches of florid type'. The connotations of unrefined decadence in the term 'florid' echo those hesitant reactions to the alien and bombastic nature of Migration Period art briefly discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 1–4.

⁴³ Vierck 1977, but see also Hines 1997, 215; Dickinson, Fern and Hall 2006, 255; Dickinson, Fern and Richardson 2011, 47.

⁴⁴ Style I panels are found among sub-group 3.5 brooches, but the transitional nature of these items has already been discussed above, p. 62.

ribbons, a bent forelimb and crouching hindquarters. Overall, the motif gives the impression of a quadruped with a helmed, human head. This motif is common enough in the European Style I repertoire and it was probably borrowed directly from the decorated panels found on relief of great square-headed brooches.⁴⁵

By this stage in the cruciform brooch series overseas parallels do not occur. Nothing among the Norwegian cruciform brooch series (whose members are generally far more elaborate than those found in Sweden, Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands) approaches the scale of decorative complexity seen on the Anglo-Saxon series. However, rather than looking for parallels among the Scandinavian cruciform brooch series, these Style I motifs are far more readily found on other metalwork of this period throughout much of Europe. In fact, nearly all of them can be traced back to their origins on those Jutlandic and Kentish square-headed brooches mentioned above (p. 41). These early square-headed brooches seemed to have branched into two distinct but closely related series: the relief brooches of Scandinavia and the great square-headed brooches of England. Accordingly, as Style I spread to a multiplicity of artefact types throughout Europe, it became a remarkably widespread iconography. Hence, although the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian cruciform brooches appear to have diverged even further at this stage, the Anglo-Saxon series was actually increasingly tapping in to an overseas repertoire of decorative motifs found over greater geographical distances on a wider range of metalwork. Meanwhile, the Scandinavian series of cruciform brooches remained on the same stylistic trajectory they had followed from the beginning and incorporated very little Style I indeed, leaving the relief brooches as the main vehicle for Style I in Scandinavia.

Group 4 cruciform brooches do not vary much in size so the large and miniature versions encountered in groups 2 and 3 do not occur here. Hence, the sub-groups of group 4 operate in a slightly different manner to those of groups 2 and 3, acting instead to relate each type to its closest stylistic partners in terms of general form as well as use of particular motifs, which are often most clearly seen in the knob forms. Sub-groups 4.1 and 4.2 stand in close relation with group 3 brooches as they often preserve part of the traditional cruciform brooch foot (essentially the type 3.1.1/3.2.1 form, see Figure 29.20–23) although the terminal and what were previously nostrils are considerably elaborated. Sub-group 4.1 is diagnostically identified by simple head-plate knobs consisting of a human mask flanked by helmed profiles, which are larger, flatter and more elaborate versions of the zoomorphic knob finials seen among group 3 brooches (Figure 29.1). Sub-group 4.2 consists of only one type, which has a more consistent foot form featuring two upside-down helmed profiles (Figure 29.23). They also have head-plate knobs that dispense with the central human mask and feature just two opposed helmed profiles (Figure 29.2). Sub-group 4.3 brooches are defined by their distinctive square head-plates formed by lateral expansion of the head-plate

⁴⁵ For more on the significance of this motif, see Martin 2013.

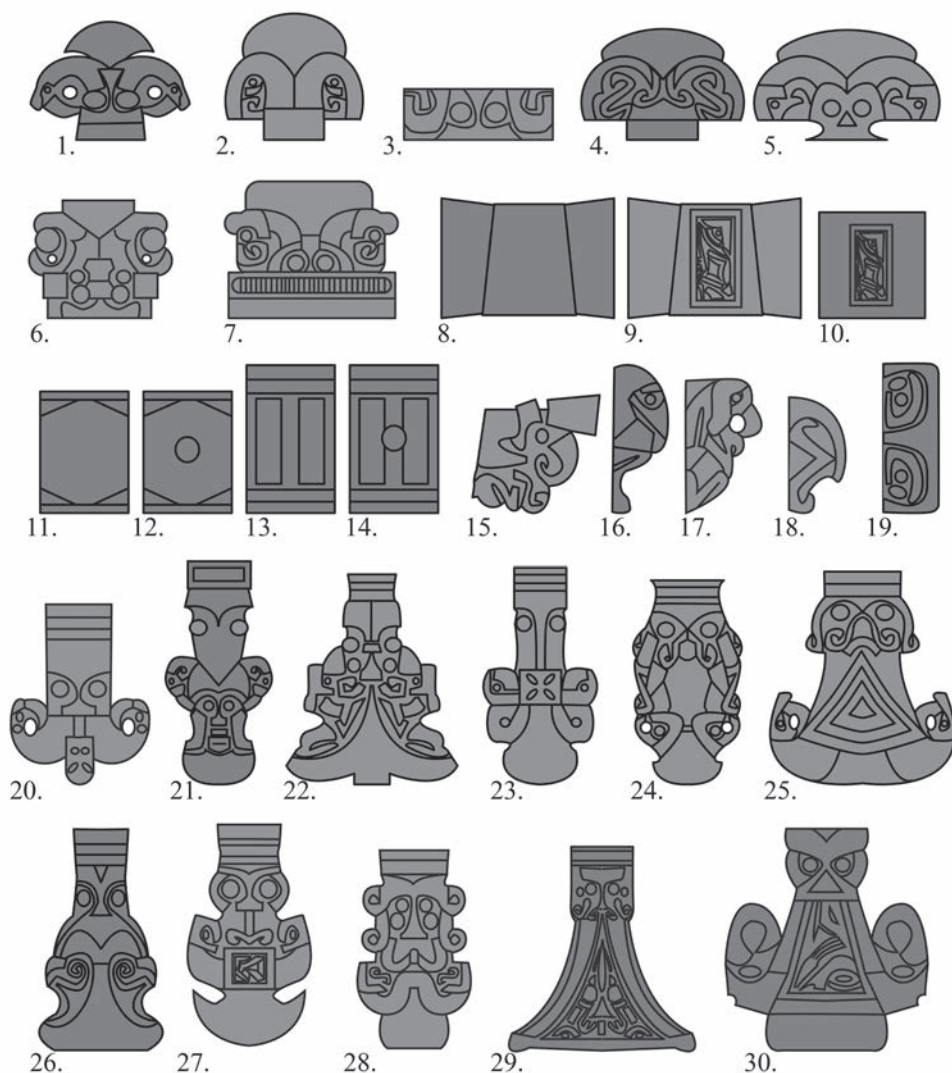


Figure 29. Group 4 components (not to scale).

knobs to the extent that they are grown together (Figure 29.3) and feet featuring curled moustaches (Figure 29.24 and 25). Consequently, they have previously been included in the great square-headed brooch series.⁴⁶ However, besides their

⁴⁶ Leeds (1949) counted types 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 in his C2 class of great square-headed brooch, but Hines (1997) rejected them from the series and they have not been included since. However, older publications and museum catalogues often refer to them as square-headed brooches.

basic form, these brooches owe their stylistic heritage to the cruciform brooch series. Sub-group 4.4 consists of just one very consistently designed type. Unlike all other group 4 brooches, the biting beast is the predominant motif on these brooches, featuring prominently on their knobs, lappets and feet (Figures 29.4, 29.18 and 29.26). Sub-group 4.5 again has only one type, defined by a foot relating to the 4.2 design with its two upturned helmed profiles below a square field (Figure 29.27). However, the eyes of the mask on 4.5 brooches are distinctively wide. Although the head-plate knobs of sub-group 4.5 are obviously related to the 4.1 forms featuring a mask flanked by helmed profiles, here the profiles erupt from the top of the head rather than the cheeks and so might be read as hair or a headdress instead of moustaches (Figure 29.5). Sub-group 4.6 brooches are defined by their foot and head-plate knob designs with especially elaborately curled moustaches and tightly curled locks of hair (Figure 29.28 and 29). They also represent the first cruciform brooches in the whole series since group 1 to dispense with head-plate wings altogether (Figure 29.10). Unusually for any sub-group or type, most of these brooches are also characterised by their execution of the Style I ornament, which is usually cast in an especially high, rounded and distinctly three-dimensional relief. Finally, sub-group 4.7 is the largest as well as the most numerous of group 4. These brooches are identified by a very large foot with a triangular Style I panel on the lower corners of which are upside-down helmed profiles (Figure 29.30).

Although group 4 has relatively few members, the ornamental detail and high consistency of their design allows as many as thirty well-defined attributes (Figure 29). They include seven head-plate knob forms, one for each sub-group (Figures 29.1–7, plus a further type for the great square-headed brooch hybrids encountered in sub-group 4.7, not illustrated here). Group 4 head-plates vary between the traditional head-plate with wings with or without a Style I panel, a square version with no wings always with a Style I panel (Figures 29.8–10) plus the great square-headed brooch variant (not illustrated here). Bows are like those of group 3 group being plain, bossed, ribbed or both (Figures 29.11–14), although the latter, decorated versions are far more common among group 4. There are a large number of lappet designs, which have been categorised into their simplest core designs of helmed profiles (Figure 29.15), an often highly abbreviated crouching beast (Figure 29.16), a more detailed and coherent crouching beast with a beak/moustache element (Figure 29.17), a biting beast (Figure 29.18) and a design that features a pair of beasts reduced to either helmed profiles, limbs or just a plain rectangle (Figure 29.19). Feet come in eleven distinctive forms, which define most of the types (Figures 29.20–30). Like all cruciform brooches, they feature a human or animal mask, but below this, in the region previously taken up by the nostrils in group 3, each of these feet differs considerably in its combination of Style I attributes.

Group 4 brooches fall into their types with very little ambiguity. Only one complete brooch from group 4 (#1355, grave 50 from Sleaford, Plate 32) is not unambiguously classified to at least the sub-group level. This overall lack of ambiguity between types is strongly reflected in the correspondence analysis (Figure 30). The analysis included eighty-eight complete brooches with the removal of only three complete items owing to their miscellaneous attributes, including the unusual brooch from Sleaford mentioned above (#1355) and a further item from Kenninghall, Norfolk (#1214) which both possessed miscellaneous foot forms. A brooch from Sandy, Lincolnshire (#1238) was also excluded for being the only hybrid between a sub-group 4.4 brooch and the great square-headed series.⁴⁷ Finally, a brooch from Holdenby, Northamptonshire (#1311, grave 4) was removed for its unusual L-shaped lappet form elsewhere encountered among type 3.2.8. A correspondence analysis of the remaining thirty-two attribute states demonstrates a very clear separation of most types, especially those that come later in the series.⁴⁸ It should be noted that because so many group 4 brooches share exactly the same combinations of variables, one point on the correspondence analysis often represents numerous cases. Sub-group 4.1 is found at the positive (right) end of the horizontal axis and at the positive (top) end of the vertical axis. Although the individual types within sub-group 4.1 do not cluster discretely, the sub-group is well defined, its mixed nature reflecting its clear inheritance from group 3. The similarities between sub-groups 4.1 and 4.2 outlined above are visually demonstrated in the correspondence analysis, which shows sub-group 4.2 occurring on the periphery of sub-group 4.1. Sub-group 4.3 also plots quite close to 4.1, except it is found on the other side of the cluster. Type 4.3.1 is even mixed in with sub-group 4.1. Hence, the types within sub-group 4.3 actually show quite good separation. Type 4.4.1, however, thanks to its dramatically different biting beast motifs, exhibits the clearest separation of any type in the whole series, clustering at the negative (bottom) end of the vertical axis. Type 4.5.1 plots relatively close to sub-group 4.1, though tending toward the negative end of the horizontal axis where the other advanced forms are also located. Sub-group 4.6, for instance, clusters nearby, again, a little further to the left. Finally, sub-group 4.7 clusters discretely right at the negative end of the horizontal axis. Hence, the correspondence analysis shows that sub-groups 4.2, 4.5 and 4.6 are intermediate between sub-groups 4.1 and 4.7, with sub-groups 4.3 and 4.4 other sub-groups travelling along separate trajectories of stylistic development. As we shall see below, these latter two types have a more northerly bias, which helps to explain their stylistic separation from the rest of the series.

The separation between some group 4 sub-groups and types is exceptional among the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch series. The clearest demonstration of

⁴⁷ It is likely with future discoveries of such brooches that this last class of brooch might be assigned to a new type 4.4.2.

⁴⁸ These attribute states include the thirty depicted in Figure 29 plus the head-plate and head-plate borders of the great square-headed brooch hybrids of type 4.7.2.

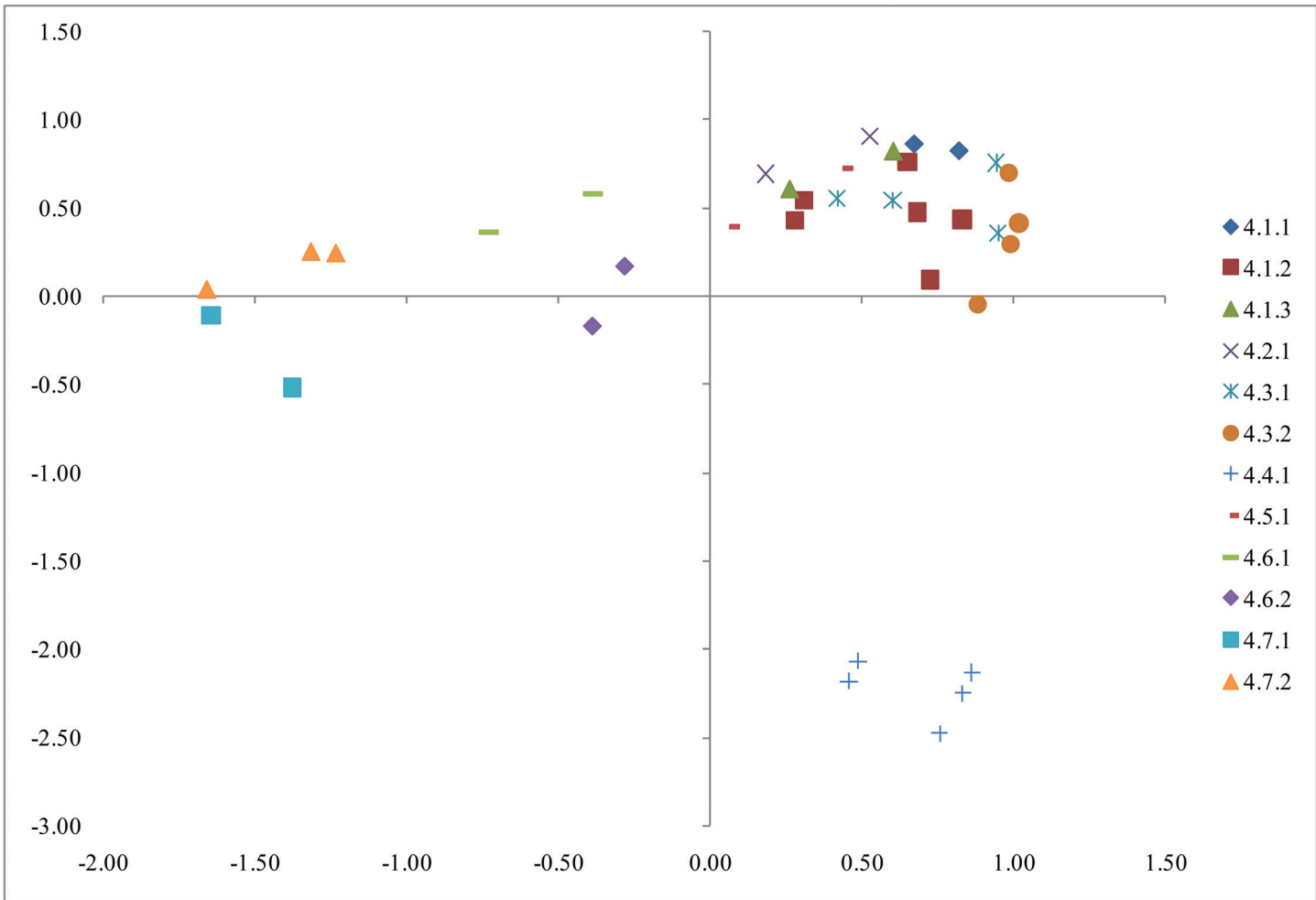


Figure 30. Group 4 correspondence analysis.

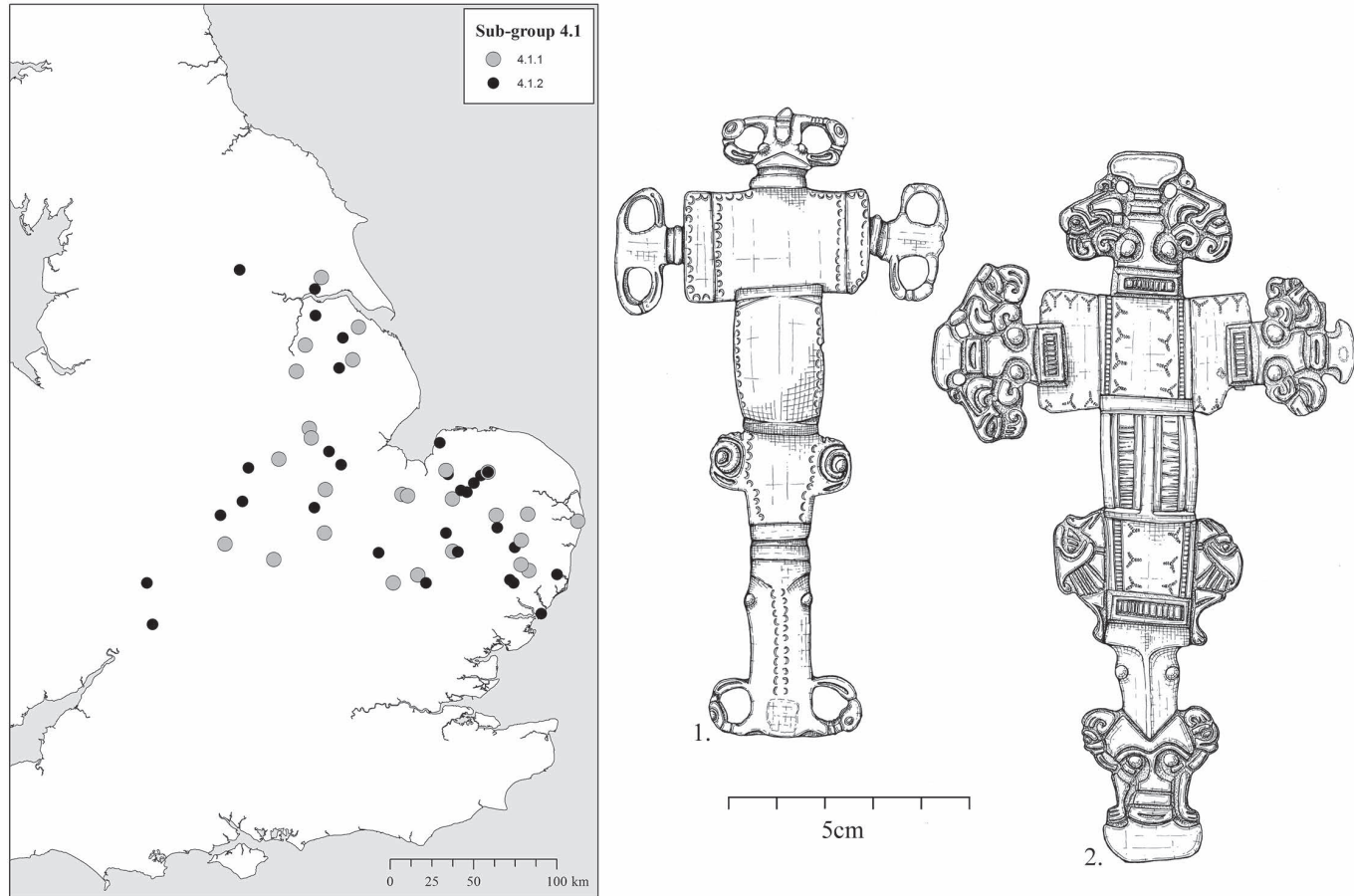


Figure 31. 1. #1119 grave 105, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (4.1.1); 2. #1146 Icklingham, Suffolk (4.1.2).

this point is that there is not a cluster of randomly distributed brooches around point zero on both axes as there was for groups 2 and 3, which tends to indicate an overall lack of patterning. This means that in almost every case particular combinations of attributes were repeated. The typology seems to move forward in jumps rather than the gradual evolutions seen among the other groups. While sub-groups 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 are all very closely related, sub-groups 4.5 and 4.6 show slightly more removal. Sub-groups 4.4 and 4.7 are very distinct and differ from the rest of the group dramatically.

Type 4.1.1 "Morning Thorpe" (#1102–1131)

Type 4.1.1 brooches are defined by a simple foot, which can be either anthropomorphic with a triangular nose or the more standard arrangement of type 3.2.1, with helmed profiles in the place of nostrils (Figure 31.1). The foot does not have a large terminal, but in some cases, the terminal features a very small secondary zoomorphic mask. The head-plate knobs feature the standard mask and helmed profiles seen throughout sub-group 4.1, but they can be distinguished by their lack of a large crescentic terminal. Perhaps more diagnostically, the band that connects the knob to the head-plate is thinner and curved compared to the flat rectangular plates seen on the rest of sub-group 4.1, more like the rounded bases of the standard top-knob seen in groups 1 to 3 than the rectangular strips seen in the rest of group 4. The lappets of type 4.1.1 always feature an upside-down helmed profile, though it has been simplified into a spiral on some examples (e.g. Figure 31.1) and elaborated with a single limb on others. This type, being the closest to group 3 brooches, shares their relatively inconsistent design structure. Also like most of group 3, the distribution of type 4.1.1 covers the standard area of East Anglia, the East Midlands and Lincolnshire, although examples from the north are relatively rare and there seems to be an East Anglian preference for the most regularly designed specimens (Figure 31).

Type 4.1.2 "Kenninghall" (#1132–1169)

The nostrils on these elaborate type 4.1.2 brooches transform into a secondary mask flanked by small, simplified crouching beasts, which finally terminates in a crescentic or spatulate plate (Figure 31.2, Plate 27). The head-plate knobs are an elaborated version of that seen in type 4.1.1, although they are generally larger and feature a crescentic or spatulate terminal. Additionally, the knobs join to the head-plate by a rectangular band rather than a curved base, occasionally decorated with a striated ornament. Lappets generally feature a crouching beast with a raised forelimb (e.g. Figure 31.2), often devolved into a series of shapes derived from this basic design. Style I panels, unknown elsewhere in sub-group 4.1, occasionally feature among type 4.1.2. The distribution of type 4.1.2 covers the standard regions of East Anglia, the East Midlands and Lincolnshire, though they



Figure 32. 1. #1175 Soham, Cambridgeshire (4.1.3); 2. Type 4.2.1, #1185 Newnham Croft, Cambridgeshire (4.2.1).

have a westerly spread that extends even to Worcestershire and Gloucestershire (Figure 31).

Type 4.1.3 "Soham" (#1170–1175)

This small group of six brooches and fragments are the largest and most elaborate of sub-group 4.1. They are defined by a foot that features an anthropomorphic mask flanked by two sizable and detailed crouching or even perhaps rampant beasts (Figure 32.1). There is a very large crescentic terminal lower down between these beasts, occasionally decorated with a Style I panel. The head-plate knobs are also more detailed, with enlarged helmed profiles. These brooches tend to be decorated in a higher relief, with deeper, more curved Style I elements akin to the mouldings of type 4.6.2. The lappet form is always an upward-facing helmed profile, occasionally simplified into a blank but similarly shaped plate. This rare type has a relatively restricted distribution in East Anglia and Lincolnshire and unlike many group 4 types does not seem to spread westward (Figure 32).

Type 4.2.1 "Market Overton" (#1176–1188)

As the only type in sub-group 4.2, type 4.2.1 is distinguished by head-plate knobs featuring opposed helmed profiles separated only by a plain crescentic terminal and no mask (Figure 32.2, Plate 28). They also have a distinctive foot form which resembles a standard type 3.1.1 or 3.2.1 animal head terminating in a small square field flanked by two upside-down helmed profiles. Each helmed profile has underneath it a curved Style I element, possibly representative of a helmet plume. A plain crescentic terminal protrudes from beneath these elements. The lappets are relatively simple outward-facing helmed profiles, occasionally upside-down. Type 4.2.1 brooches have a distinctive distribution in the East Midlands and Cambridgeshire, perhaps the first type not to have a distinct concentration further east (Figure 32).

Type 4.3.1 "Darlington" (#1189–1197)

Type 4.3.1 is easily recognised by its square head-plate and elaborate anthropomorphic foot with curled locks of hair and an unusual plain oval field (Figure 33.1). The curled locks of hair and tightly twirled moustaches of these brooches can in fact also be read as two crouching beasts, flanking the human mask at the centre. Besides this distinctive and ingenious foot, the rest of these brooches are essentially the same as type 4.3.2 (below). The head-plate knobs, though they are grown together in a rectangular frame, are nevertheless composed of a mask flanked by helmed profiles. Even the standard three-panelled head-plate of the rest of the cruciform brooch series is enclosed between them. The lappets consistently depict a crouching beast with a beak/moustache. Of all the types thus far

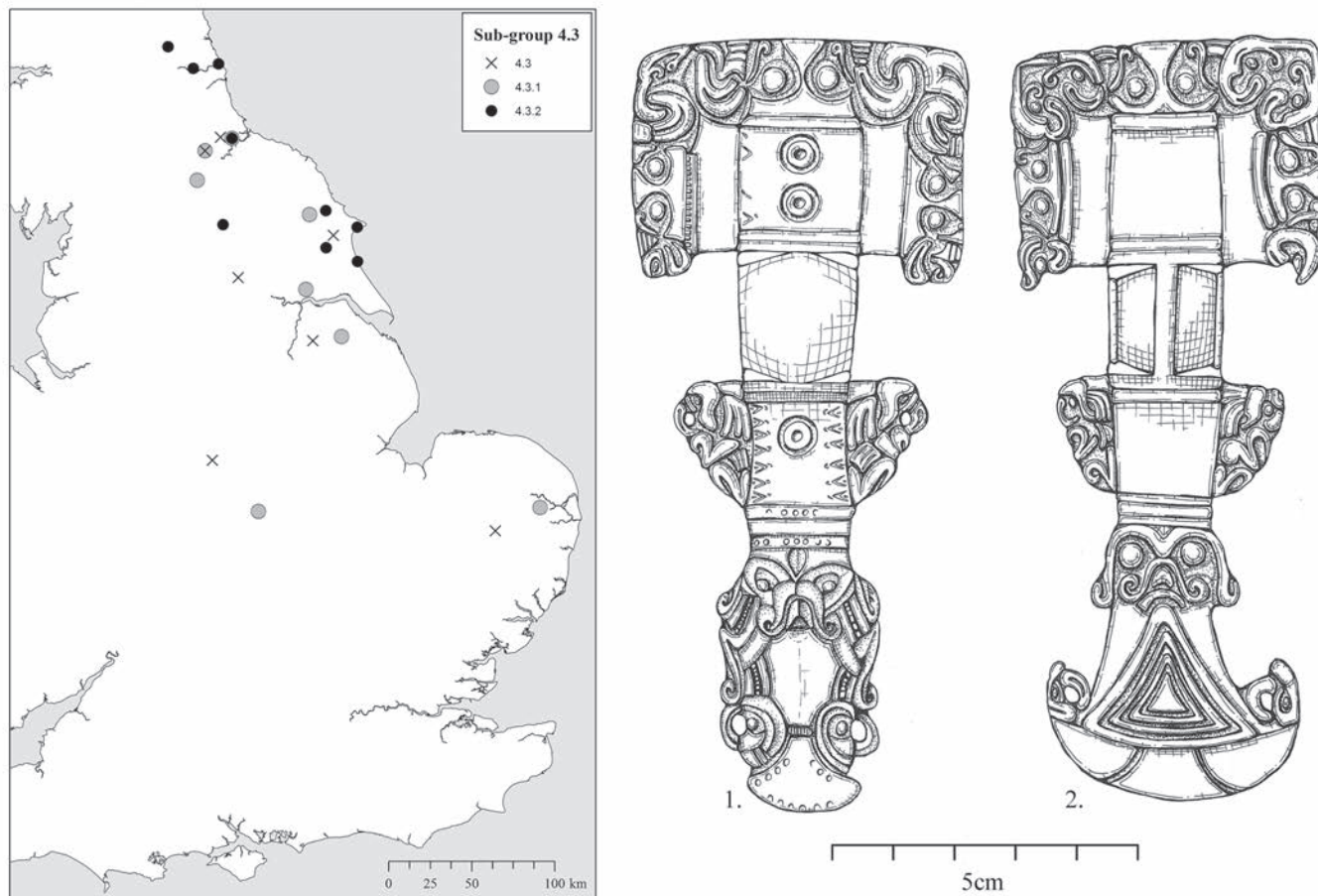


Figure 33. 1. #1192 Greenbank, Darlington, Co. Durham (4.3.1); 2. #1201 grave 3, Hornsea, Yorkshire (4.3.2).

encountered, type 4.3.1 (and type 4.3.2, below) have the most convincingly northern distribution (Figure 33). Given that a low proportion of cruciform brooches are in any case found further north than the Humber, the focus of these brooches in East Yorkshire and further north is striking.

Type 4.3.2 "Benzwell" (#1198–1209)

Type 4.3.2 is distinguished by its square head-plate and foot, which features a similar anthropomorphic mask with a tightly curled moustache to the one found on type 4.3.1 (Figure 33.2, Plate 29.1). However, this foot is not flanked by crouching beasts. Instead, it terminates in a large triangular terminal with upturned helmed profiles on each bottom corner, very similar to the feet of sub-group 4.7. However, no example of 4.3.2 has yet been found with a triangular Style I panel in this space. Instead, it is always filled with concentric triangles. The lappet forms and head-plates follow the same designs as type 4.3.1, although they often seem to be executed with considerably less attention to detail. Indeed, besides some exceptionally devolved members of type 4.7.1, type 4.3.2 brooches seemed to have been subject to more repeated copying and degrading of their Style I motifs than any other type (Plate 29.1, for example). Occasionally, they are reduced to a barely recognisable series of scored lines. Like type 4.3.1, these brooches have a distinctively northerly distribution, with no examples yet found south of the Humber (Figure 33).

Type 4.4.1 "Exning" (#1218–1232)

As the correspondence analysis demonstrated, type 4.4.1 is perhaps the most distinctive of group 4. The main reason for this is that while the rest of group tends to focus on the helmed profile motif, type 4.4.1 exclusively features biting beasts (Figure 34.1, Plate 29.2). The foot of 4.4.1 brooches features an anthropomorphic mask, which occasionally appears to be wearing a helm (#1221 from Laceby is the clearest example of this, Figure 34.1). The moustaches of this mask droop downward and are formed by a pair of biting beasts. Between them is a plain terminal that can be either crescentic or spatulate. Bows are frequently decorated with a boss, panels or both (on the seventeen out of eighteen cases where they survive), and Style I panels on head-plate and catch-plate occur three times (e.g. Plate 29.2). These brooches are frequently gilded and have a distinctive northerly distribution that centres on Lincolnshire, though they are also found further north and in East Anglia (Figure 34).⁴⁹

⁴⁹ There is a single example of a sub-group 4.4 brooch with a head-plate borrowed from the great square-headed brooch series. While this example may well form a new type 4.4.2, we may have to wait for more examples to make this designation as useful one.

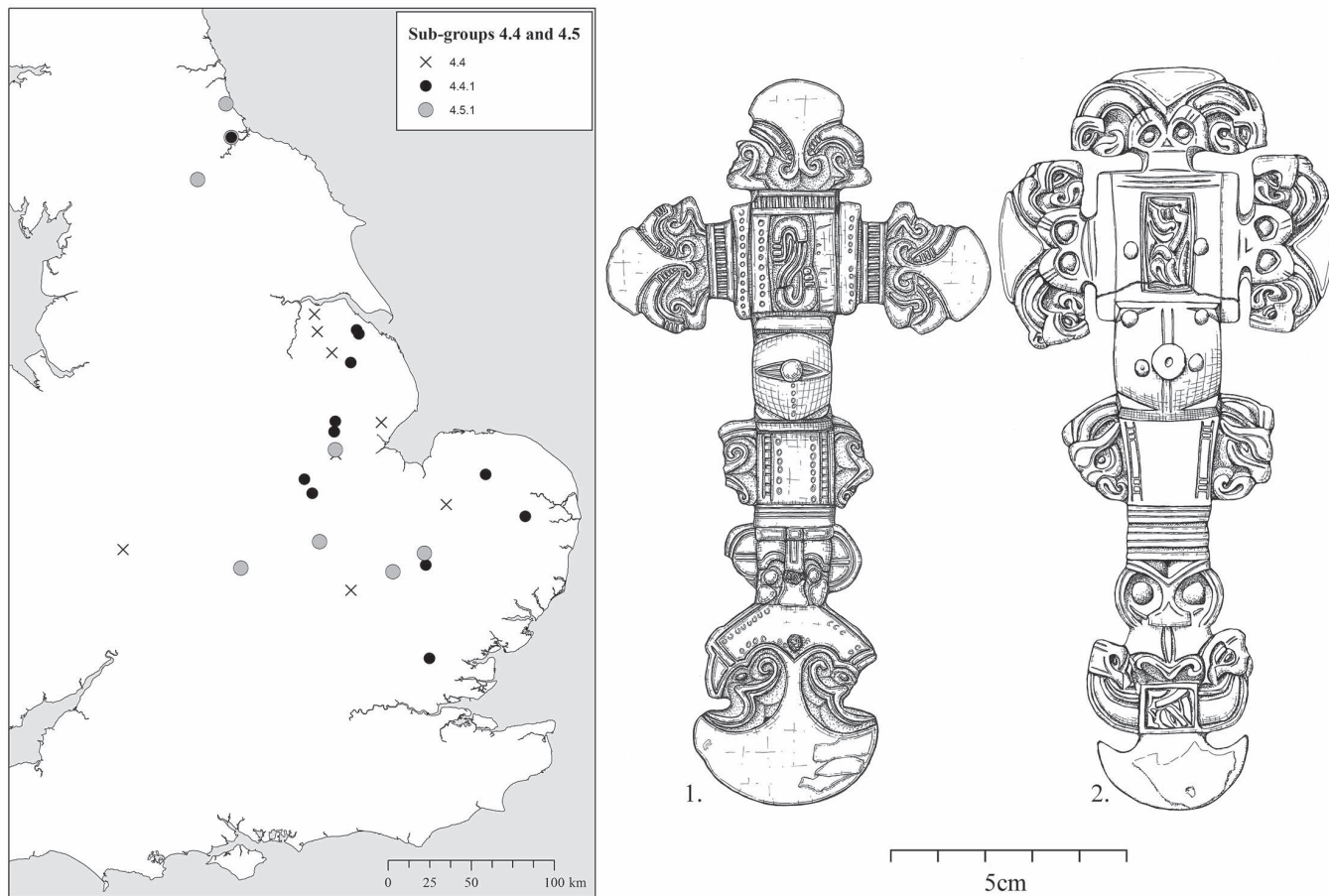


Figure 34. 1. #1221 Laceby, Lincolnshire (4.4.1); 2. #1245 grave 30, Norton, Tees (4.5.1).

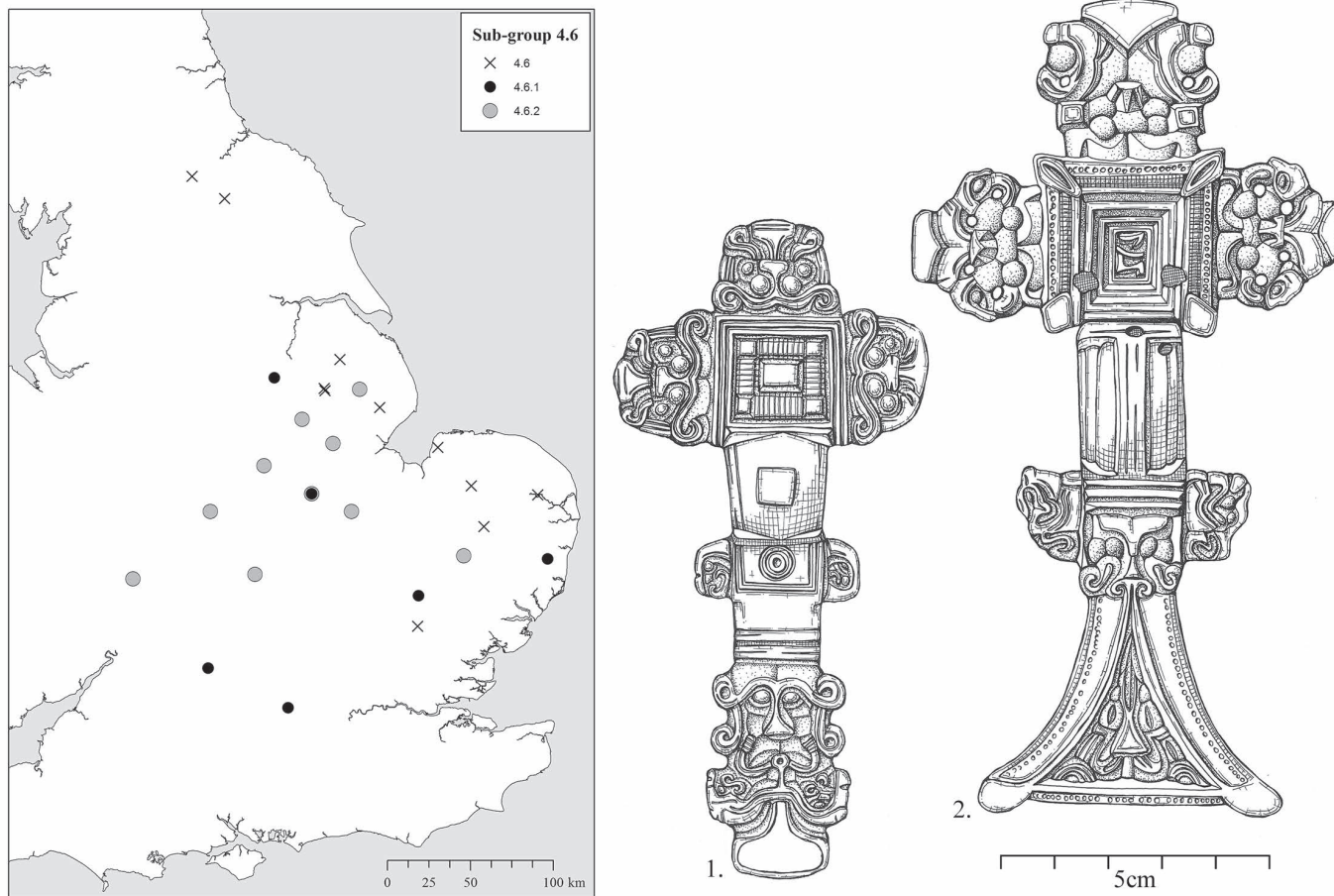


Figure 35. 1. 1250 grave 85A, Empingham II, Rutland (4.6.1); 2. #1260 grave 81, Empingham II, Rutland (4.6.2).

Type 4.5.1 "Catterick" (#1241–1248)

Type 4.5.1 is the only type in its sub-group. Although it bears some semblance to sub-group 4.1 brooches and its close relationship was drawn out in the correspondence analysis, it is noticeably larger, frequently gilded and has some key iconographic differences. The type 4.5.1 foot easily distinguishes it from sub-group 4.1, with its distinctively large and rounded eyes (Figure 34.2). Perhaps even more characteristically, the type 4.5.1 head-plate knobs feature helmed profiles that erupt from the top of the mask's head, rather than from its cheeks. Like type 4.2.1 brooches, the mask on the foot terminates in a small square field. However, in this case two helmed profiles extend upwards on curving necks, flanking a small curled moustache. From the base of the square field extends a substantial crescentic terminal. Type 4.5.1 has an unusually divided distribution with two groups, one focused on the Midlands like their close relatives in type 4.2.1, and one quite convincingly distinct group to the far north around the Tees (Figure 34).

Type 4.6.1 "Linton Heath" (#1249–1255)

Among group 4 brooches, type 4.6.1 are relatively small. There are only four complete examples, all of which are virtually identical (Figure 35.1). Besides these complete brooches, there are a relatively large number of metal-detected head-plate knob fragments that most likely derive from similar brooches, though close parallels among complete examples have not yet been found.⁵⁰ For the time being, however, type 4.6.1 provides their strongest parallels. Type 4.6.1 is defined by a foot that features an anthropomorphic mask with two layers of curling locks of hair. The mask extends down into a pair of upside-down helmed profiles, below which is a small and plain spatulate terminal. The lappets are a simple, small outward-facing helmed profile. The head-plate knobs feature a human mask with similarly curled locks of hair and downward curling moustaches. A similar anthropomorphic mask on the foot is shared not only by type 4.6.2, but also by great square-headed brooches among Hines' groups IX and XV.⁵¹ Like type 4.6.2, these brooches do not feature the three-panelled head-plate that is otherwise integral to most of the cruciform brooch series. Instead, they have square head-plates decorated with blocks and lines surrounding what is probably an imitation setting for a gem, again perhaps echoing a close relationship with the great square-headed series. These brooches and fragments are very widely dispersed throughout East Anglia, the Midlands and further west (Figure 35).

⁵⁰ Since the corpus was compiled a larger fragment of one of these brooches has come to light on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database (NMS-13B110). The item includes all three head-plate knobs and the head-plate itself, which, like other numbers of sub-group 4.6, lacks wings. This feature helps to secure the fragments as belonging to sub-group 4.6, and with the discovery of more complete items, it may be possible to designate them type 4.6.3.

⁵¹ See Hines 1997, Pls. 31–3 (for group IX) and 46–9 (for group XV).

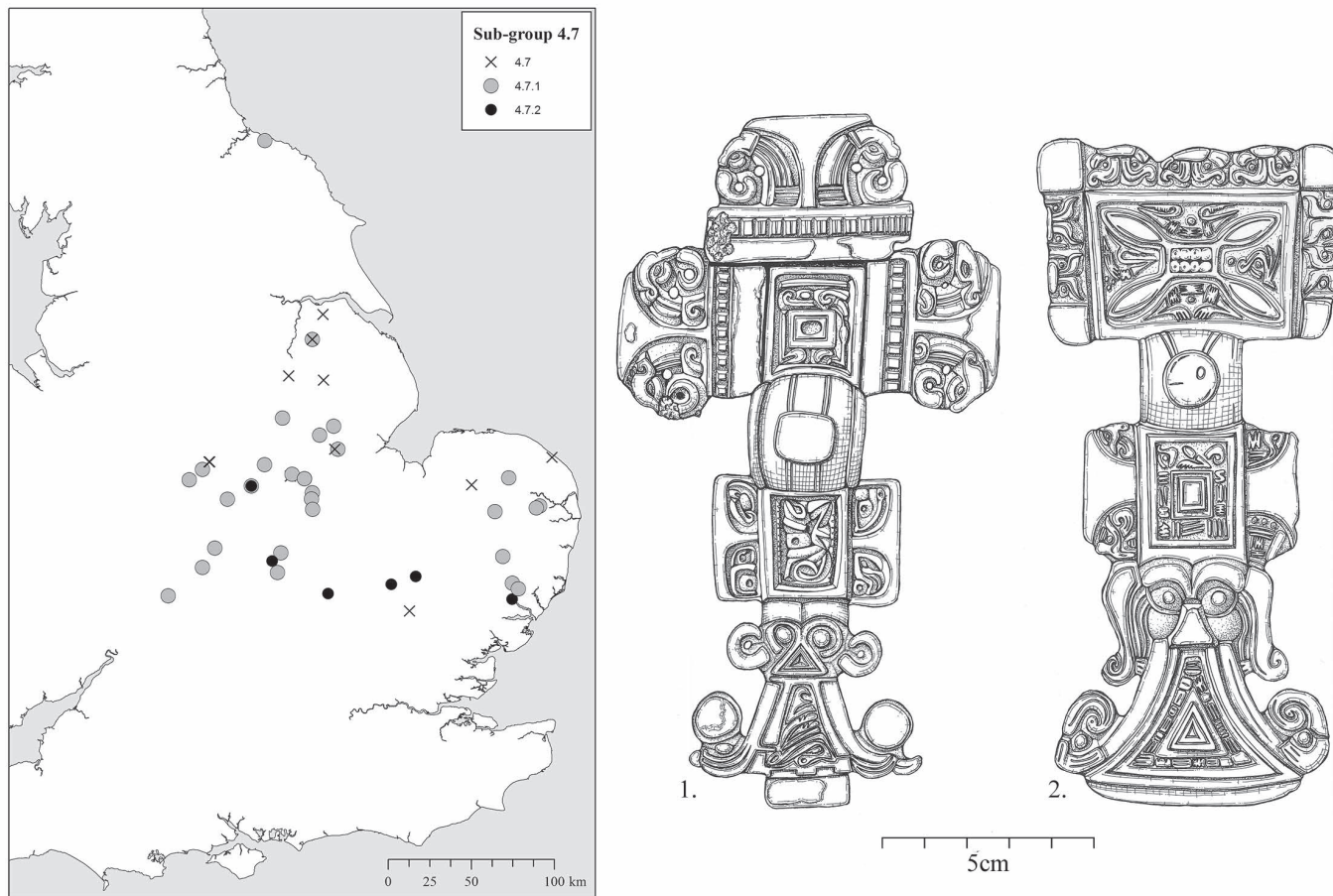


Figure 36. 1. #1289 Duston, Northamptonshire (4.7.1); 2. #1313 Kempston, Bedfordshire (4.7.2).

Type 4.6.2 "Newnham" (#1256–1267)

Type 4.6.2 feet feature loosely related masks to those found on type 4.6.1 and some of the great square-headed brooch series. The 4.6.2 foot, however, has a substantial broad triangular terminal featuring a Style I panel, which apparently erupts from the mouth of the human mask (Figure 35.2, Plate 30). This triangular panel provides a links with both type 4.3.2 and sub-group 4.7. The head-plate knobs are loosely related to those found on type 4.6.1 brooches, except they are noticeably larger, and the top-knob especially is enlarged. The enlargement of the top-knob is probably a second feature borrowed from the great square-headed brooch series, which generally feature a larger head-plate upper border than those on the sides. In fact, brooches from Hines group XV, which share the foot form of sub-group 4.6, feature almost identical decorations around their head-plates as these knobs, only they are joined at the corners by oval fields, rather than being left as three distinct knobs.⁵² This differential treatment of the top-knob, though common in group 3, is virtually limited to type 4.6.2 in group 4 (a small number of type 4.7.1 also feature a larger top-knob). The lappet design of type 4.6.2 is always an upward-facing helmed profile featuring additional curvilinear elements that can probably be read as helmet plumes, though certainly not unambiguously so. Type 4.6.2 brooches are thinly but widely distributed through the Midlands (Figure 35).

Type 4.7.1 "Duston" (#1279–1309)

Type 4.7.1 brooches resemble flattened-out and simplified versions of a mixture of group 4 types (Figure 36.1, Plate 31). The feet are similar to the triangular examples encountered in types 4.3.2 and 4.6.2 except they lack the curled moustaches of both and instead have a prominent triangular nose. Beneath the nose, a large triangular Style I field extends, the bottom corners of which are decorated with a pair of upside-down and outward-facing helmed profiles. Beneath this triangular field there is often a silvered rectangular bar or a series of small tabs. Type 4.7.1 brooches always feature Style I panels on their head-plates, catch-plates and foot terminals, though the decoration is often reduced beyond recognition to a series of blocks and lines, or just a pair of opposed limbs. The head-plate knobs are flattened-out masks flanked by helmed profiles, which terminate in a rectangular field sometimes featuring a striated ornament, potentially imitating the cell work of gold and garnet cloisonné jewellery. Occasionally, the mask on the head-plate knobs is simplified to the extent it disappears altogether, resulting in flattened-out versions of the opposed helmed profiles found among type 4.2.1. All examples of type 4.7.1 feature bichrome decoration and there are no exceptions to this. The lappets occasionally feature dual-helmed profiles or limbs, but are more frequently reduced to plain plates, often silvered (e.g. Plate 31). The

⁵² Ibid., Pls. 34–5.

distribution of type 4.7.1 is decidedly focused in the central Midlands, with a further cluster to the east in East Anglia, with a single outlier far to the north on the river Tees (Figure 36).

Type 4.7.2 "Kempston" (#1310–1315)

Unlike sub-group 4.3 brooches, which have in the past been identified as hybrids between the cruciform and great square-headed series, type 4.7.2 brooches are true amalgams.⁵³ While they have the typical cruciform brooch foot their entire head-plates are lifted directly from the great square-headed brooch series (Figure 36.2). As such, their presence in either series is equivocal: they properly belong in both. Unlike most of group 4, and especially unlike their closest neighbours, type 4.7.1, members of type 4.7.2 are not consistently designed. They draw on a range of stylistic influences. For instance, the lappets on the example from Holdenby (#1311, grave 4) are not seen elsewhere except on the very rare type 3.2.8 and a few incomplete sub-group 3.4 fragments (#1016, #1028). Like type 4.7.1, these experimental designs are distributed through the Midlands, if with a slight southerly pull (Figure 36).

Kentish Cruciform Brooches

Most cruciform brooches from Kent and the south-east part of Essex do not fit easily into the principal Anglo-Saxon series. The relatively few complete examples display a high diversity of forms not classifiable even on their own terms. It has previously been noted that the Kentish series shows more affinity with the continental or southern Scandinavian series.⁵⁴ This is still true, though it is difficult to make a strong case for any specific links given the relatively few intact examples from both of these regions. Either way, their development obviously takes on a different trajectory from the predominantly Anglian forms explored above. Despite this overall divergence, a small number of cruciform brooches found in Kent sit quite happily in groups 1 and 2 outlined above. Conversely, brooches that apparently belong to a specifically Kentish series occasionally occur outside Kent. Within Kent, cruciform brooches with the more developed features of group 3, such as lappets or large crescentic or spatulate foot terminals, are very rare. Indeed, large cruciform brooches altogether are rare in Kent, where they tend toward smaller, more delicate forms. The few examples from Kent that possess those advanced features of group 3 may well have been brought in from outside, as they exhibit none of the stylistic tendencies commenced in those plainer Kentish forms and are indistinguishable from brooches found outside

⁵³ Leeds (1949, 78–89) classified these as type C3 in his great square-headed brooch series, while Hines (1997, 153–6) puts them in his group XXI.

⁵⁴ Hawkes 1969, 190; Mortimer 1990, 164–70.

Kent. No group 4 cruciform brooches whatsoever have been found in the Kentish region, and numbers of group 3 forms from this area are negligible.

Despite the unclear relationship between the Kentish and principal Anglo-Saxon series, there seems to have been either a moderate degree of stylistic influence, or perhaps even a minor flow of actual products travelling both ways between Kent and the other easterly regions of England, as they follow broadly similar lines of development. However, most cruciform brooches from Kent are better classified on their own terms, with links to the principal Anglo-Saxon series and overseas examples drawn out on a case-by-case basis.

In general, the Kentish series is characterised by being smaller, more delicate and plainer with a stylistic development that broadly aligns with groups 1 and 2 of the principal series (e.g. Plate 33). Accordingly, the majority of cruciform brooches fall into an alternative Kentish group 1 and 2. It is extremely unfortunate that so few of the feet of Kentish brooches survive intact, as these would be key to constructing a more reliable and useful typology. Instead, we are forced to classify them according to less specific characteristics such as their head-plates and knobs. While brooches in both groups are relatively small, Kentish group 1 is defined by its fully round top-knobs and separately cast side-knobs. Kentish group 2, on the other hand, generally has half-round top-knobs and integrally cast side-knobs. This latter group, thanks to their small size and non-composite construction, align relatively closely with sub-group 2.2 from the main series, although the Kentish brooches are generally even smaller and possess trapezoid head-plate wings that narrow rather than broaden toward the outer edge (see above, Figure 9.10). In fact, this design is not unknown outside Kent, though it is certainly not characteristic of the main series whilst occurring on a relatively high proportion of Kentish brooches. Unlike group 2 in the principal series, Kentish group 2 brooches occasionally feature a delicate foot terminal. Again, no terminals actually survive completely intact, but they appear to be much smaller, rounded plates than those substantial examples seen among group 3 of the principal series (incomplete examples are visible on Plate 36.2 and 3). Due to such a very small number of complete examples from Kent, a correspondence analysis would be of little use to elucidate any relationships between types.

Kentish Type 1.1 "Bifrons" (#1347–1352)

This type is the only Kentish variety defined by its foot, which in this case is a small animal head with comma-shaped nostrils (see above, Figure 5.20). Some of these examples also feature small moulded ears on the collar that divides the foot from the catch-plate (e.g. Figure 37.1). They are all very small brooches with separately cast side-knobs and fully round top-knobs, with small head-plates occasionally notched between the wings and central panel. This type aligns well

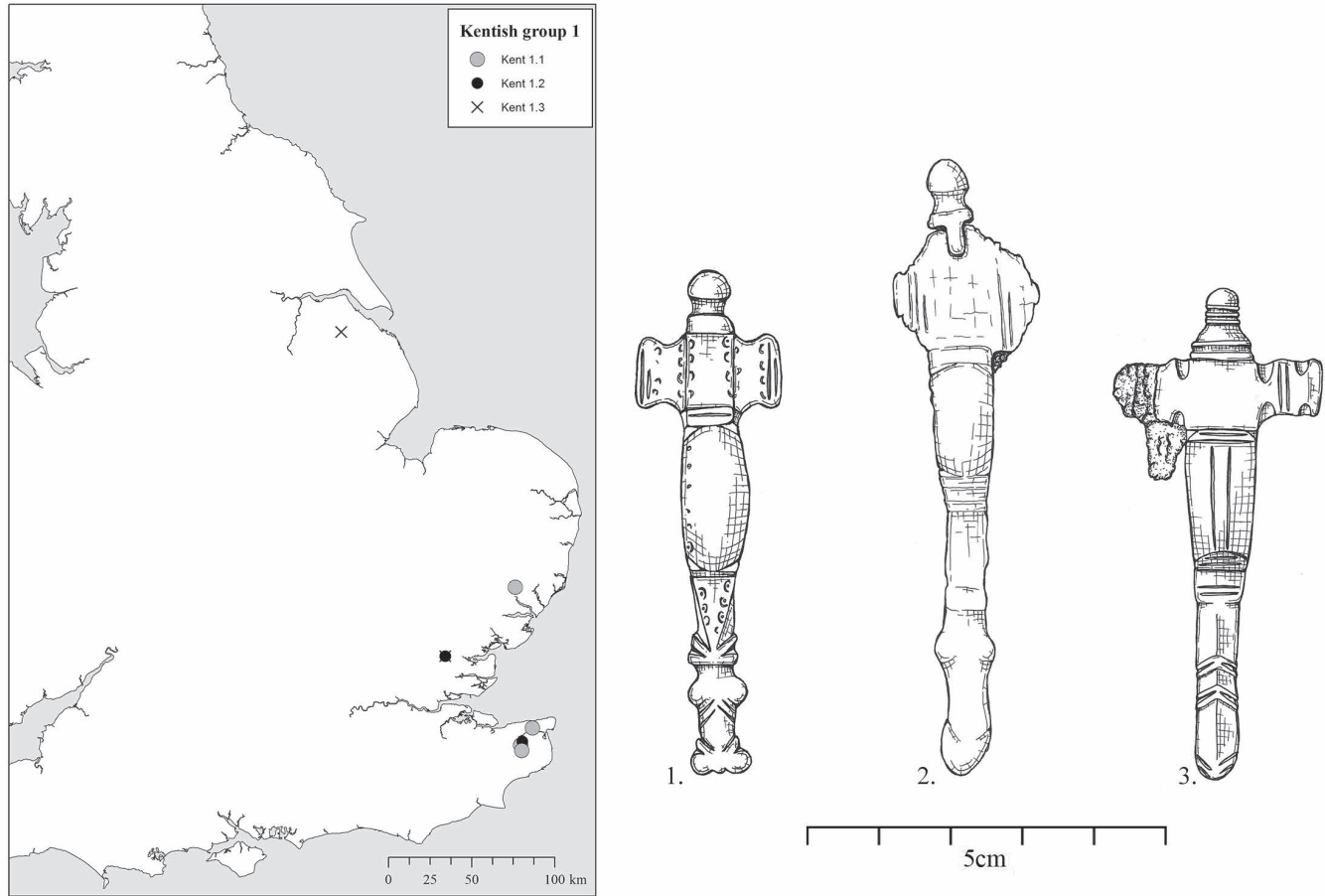


Figure 37. 1. #1348 grave 15, Bifrons, Kent (Kent 1.1); 2. #1353 Howletts, Kent (Kent 1.2); 3. #1356 grave 28, Fonaby, Lincolnshire (Kent 1.3).

with Reichstein's type Stoveland, and virtually identical examples come from Stoveland in Norway, Hammoor in Schleswig-Holstein and Stentorp in Sweden.⁵⁵

Kentish Type 1.2 "Howletts" (#1353–1355)

There are only three examples of Kentish Type 1.2, two of which are from the same grave (#1354 and #1355, from grave 4988 at Springfield Lyons, Essex). The type is partly defined by a top-knob that is not only fully round but also separately cast (Figure 37.1, Plate 33.1). Although no feet survive intact, they all lack brows and the example from Howletts may have originally resembled a type 1.2.2 foot with lentoid nostrils. Overseas parallels for these brooches cannot be found as the separately cast and tabbed top-knob seems to be a predominantly Anglo-Saxon feature, most frequently seen among type 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 brooches (see above). A pair of brooches from Skogen, Hedrum, in Norway possess these separate and tabbed top-knobs, although they align far better with type 2.1.3 than with these Kentish brooches, which are far more delicate.⁵⁶ These Kentish type 1.2 brooches therefore bring out the hybrid nature of the Kentish series, lying somewhere between northern Germanic examples and those from England.

Kentish Type 1.3 "Springfield Lyons" (#1356–1357)

This type has only two examples, which are among the smallest cruciform brooches from England. They are defined by unusually shaped but fully round top-knobs, which on the example from Springfield Lyons, Essex (#1357, grave 6096) is a small and squat triangle. A similarly narrowing but more rounded form is found on the example from Fonaby, Lincolnshire (#1356, Figure 37.2, Plate 33.2). Both of these brooches also have very well-defined facets on their catch-plates, as well as unusually angular notched head-plate wings. These peculiar little brooches do not find convincing parallels anywhere. Because one of them is from Lincolnshire, they do not even strictly qualify as a Kentish type. The justification for this classification, beyond one of them being found in southern Essex in a cemetery yielding other Kentish types, is merely that these two brooches are quite unlike the principal series. Additionally, they do not look like anything from overseas and therefore make for unlikely imports. Notched wings, although found occasionally in Scandinavia, are more common among the Anglo-Saxon series. Among the Anglo-Saxon series, group 1 or Kentish, these notched wings find their best parallels in Kentish type 1.1.

⁵⁵ Reichstein 1975, Pls. 19 (Stoveland), 68 (Stentorp), 81 (Hammoor),

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. 166.

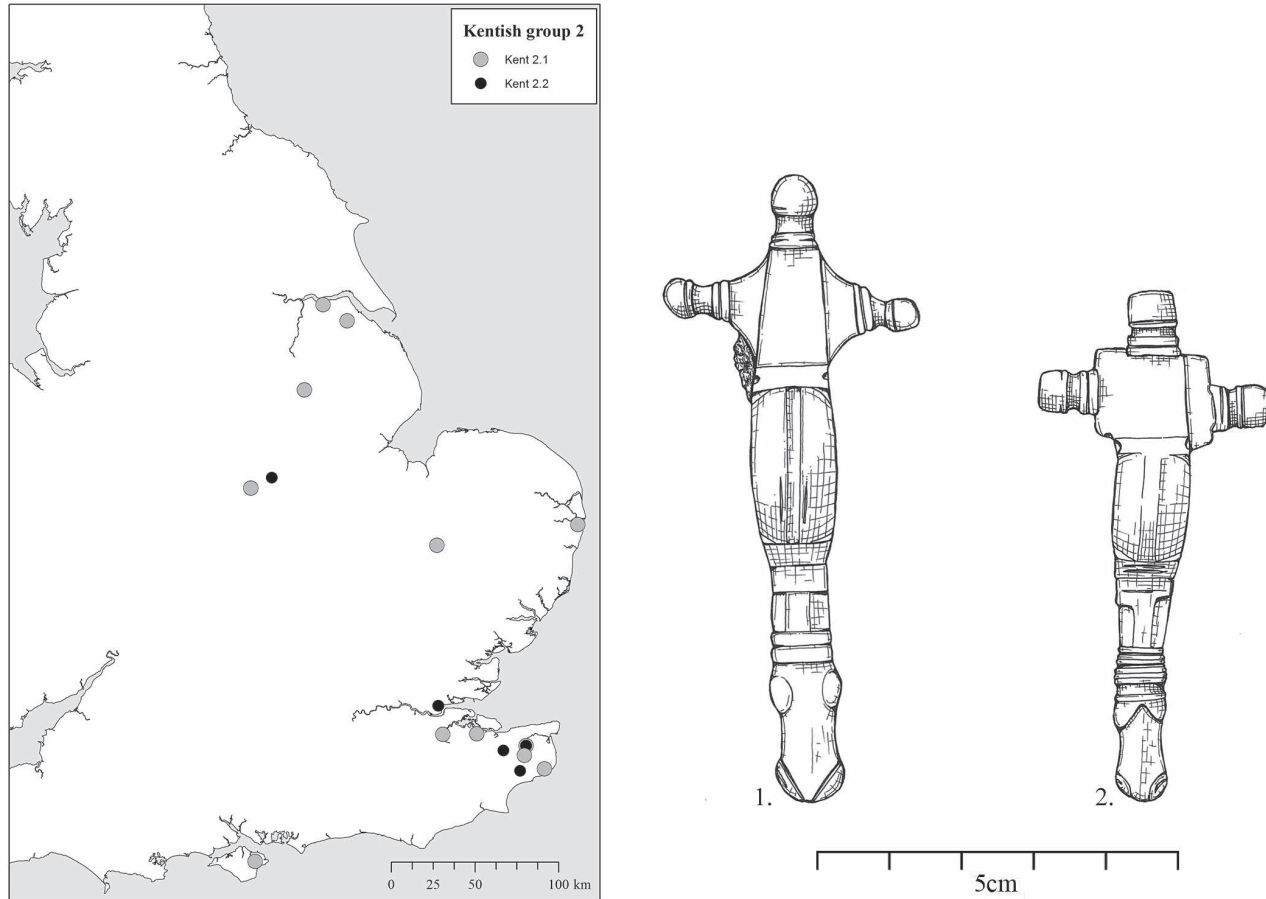


Figure 38. 1. #1360 grave 351b, Buckland, Kent (Kent 2.1); 2. #1378 grave 878, Mucking II, Essex (Kent 2.2).

Kentish Type 2.1 "Milton-next-Sittingbourne" (#1358–1370)

This type is defined by integrally cast side-knobs and head-plates with trapezoid wings that narrow, rather than broaden, toward their external edge (Figure 38.1, Plate 33.3). This is a relatively well-populated type considering all the incomplete fragments with this head-plate form. The foot varies somewhat, but they are all related by clearly separated nostrils, which occasionally assume the form of small, comma-shaped spirals. Their size also varies somewhat and some of the head-plate fragments are tiny. Nevertheless, this head-plate shape, though occasionally found outside this region and frequently in Scandinavia, in England is much more characteristic of Kent. Where the feet survive, they are also consistently foreign to the principal series. Additionally, two of these brooches have unique bows for Anglo-Saxon brooches. The bow on an example from Milton-next-Sittingbourne (#1368) has square, panelled decoration, which is quite unlike that seen among the much later group 4 brooches. The example from Howletts (#1364, Plate 33.3) has an external ridge down its middle and a pronounced lateral bulge at its apex. This latter characteristic features on a large number of Norwegian brooches; though on these, the ridge is more marked and the bulge more angular.

Kentish Type 2.2 "Mucking" (#1371–1379)

Kentish type 2.2 brooches comprise a miscellaneous assortment consisting of small examples with integrally cast side-knobs and small rectangular head-plate wings (Figure 38.2). The foot varies in its detail but on a basic level it is plain with barely marked nostrils. A few examples, unfortunately not quite intact, hint at a slight broadening out into a tiny terminal plate at their base. Good parallels cannot be found overseas, but neither can particularly good comparisons be found in England.

Possible Imports

Most cruciform brooches from Anglo-Saxon England clearly belong to one of the types described above or at least relate to one or more of them peripherally. A small number of brooches, however, show very little resemblance to the rest of the Anglo-Saxon series and possess far stronger parallels overseas. Although there are only five such brooches (#1380–1384), their scarcity enhances their significance. As such, they merit some discussion.

Perhaps importantly, considering the relatively strong overseas parallels of the Kentish series, two of these five unusual items are from Kent. The first of these is from Gilton (#1380, Plate 34.1). It is quite obviously part of Reichstein's type Byrkje and it has an almost identical parallel from Westerwijtwerd, Groningen,

in the northern Netherlands.⁵⁷ This excellent parallel from the Netherlands, however, seems to be something of an outlier among a type that is far more strongly characteristic of Norwegian brooches. The small zoomorphic head-plate knobs are particularly typical of Norway, as is the foot with bulging eyes and a strong median ridge. The long and thin rectangular bow with its two panels is also alien to the Anglo-Saxon series. The smaller brooch from Howletts (#1381) is also characteristically Norwegian. Its bow has a very strongly pronounced bulge at its apex to an extent completely unparalleled among Anglo-Saxon brooches, but very common among the Norwegian series. The metal-detected fragment from South Kesteven (#1384) has a catch-plate with a width that gently slopes outward so that it is broader than the bow. True, this is not a dramatically different feature, but no other brooch from the Anglo-Saxon series has this characteristic. Parallels do, however, occur among Reichstein's Norwegian type Mo, for example.⁵⁸ Its small pellet-like nostrils, though again not especially unusual, are also more reminiscent of some Norwegian brooches, including Reichstein's type Lunde or perhaps type Nygard.⁵⁹ Finally, there are two unprovenanced brooches, which museum records suggest are from Suffolk. However, given the uncertainty of their origins it should be borne in mind that these might have actually been imported in the more recent past. The first of these (#1383, Plate 34.2) is a small, narrow brooch, typical of early Norwegian brooches such as Reichstein's type Tveitane-Hunn or Lunde but much larger than any of its group 1 equivalents from England.⁶⁰ The other unprovenanced brooch (#1382, Plate 33.3) is quite unlike anything from Anglo-Saxon England or overseas. However, certain characteristics, such as its massive, fully round top-knob as well as its bulbous eyes and nostrils align it more closely with Norwegian brooches. Nonetheless, the spiral shape of the nostrils shows some similarity to English examples, even if they do have a uniquely ridged spiral arm.

There is no way to demonstrate that any of these brooches was definitely imported, but the case for most of them is strong. The scarcity of such probable imports is highly significant for a brooch type traditionally interpreted as a foreign introduction to post-Roman Britain. The Migration Period is named for its high movement of people and one might expect such a dynamic situation to produce either a far more intensive mixing of cultural influences resulting in a situation in which types across north-west Europe were indistinguishable, or alternatively in which imports were obvious and common. However, for cruciform brooches, despite their commonality to whole swathes of north-west Europe, this was not the case and we can say that with some certainty. The only other possible imports are those earliest group 1 brooches many of which even at this stage already show distinctly Anglo-Saxon characteristics (i.e. most of sub-group 1.2). It is quite some

⁵⁷ Ibid., Pl. 72.

⁵⁸ Ibid., Pl. 54.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Pls. 14 and 15 (type Lunde), 16 (type Nygard)

⁶⁰ Ibid., Pls. 8–14.

statistic that, besides sub-group 1.1, out of more than two thousand brooches we have only five items (0.2 per cent) for which a foreign origin can even be proposed, let alone proven. Hence, although cruciform brooches either side of the North Sea developed along a broadly similar trajectory and therefore perhaps with some mutual awareness, these were not items that were regularly, if ever, traded.

Conclusion

The primary purpose of a typology is to transform a continuum of stylistically related objects into manageable groupings, permitting a set of shorthand references to summarise complex descriptions into a logical system of labels. The endeavour has therefore been a primarily practical means of establishing a language with which this book can proceed, including a means of organising chronology and distribution. The typology presented above, however, had a purpose beyond this, which was to explore the structure of cruciform brooch design. Advancing our understanding of stylistic structure permits a qualification of the relatedness of brooches both within and between types. Not only does this explain and help to justify the typology, but it also facilitates a better understanding of the motivations behind typological development. Various lines of stylistic motivation run through the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch series. These threads are branched and some aspects occasionally seem anachronistic. For example, the miniature copies of larger brooches seem retrogressive, but it is almost certainly the case that they were copied this way around. Nonetheless, there is an obvious overall impetus toward larger and more ornate forms. If we consider the cruciform brooch as a material symbol, its messages became louder, larger and more complex. In other words, there was a blatant drive toward ostentation.

The statistical analyses also illustrate how, at different stages in the development of cruciform brooches, their makers mixed attributes conservatively or creatively to produce new forms. The analysis of group 1 gave a picture of consistent design and relatively distinct types. However, rather than representing a strict adherence to a style, this was probably the result of these objects being very basic with only a limited range of decorative possibilities. The neatness of the group 1 correspondence analysis is also partly due to my necessarily tidy categorisation of brooch components that in fact exhibit a continuous range of variation. This continuity between components becomes somewhat less evident the further into the series we progress, but especially from type 2.1.4 (and 2.2.3) onward. This lack of precise types in the earliest part of the series may well relate to the concept of the product in the craftsman's mind. The exact composition of group 1 foot ornamentation, for instance, is actually quite variable in terms of its detail and proportions, but because they are all relatively simple, the range for stylistic variation was limited. In other words, although there was an idea of what

a cruciform brooch should look like, it was a very basic form and there were not particularly stringent rules guiding its precise composition.

The overall picture from groups 2 and 3 was very mixed, with most types defined only by a particular foot form. Accordingly, the correspondence analyses of these two intermediate groups demonstrated a high degree of stylistic crossover between the types, both having a significant number of relatively unstructured types clustered around point zero on the correspondence analysis. Despite this frequently indiscriminate mixing of attributes, there was some clustering, but very few such clusters were discrete. As a result, it is possible to argue that a high number of these types had attributes that were more commonly, albeit weakly, associated with particular foot forms. This is precisely what one might expect from copying with incremental innovation. The almost exhaustive combination of attributes among group 3 cruciform brooches demonstrates the creative, inventive efforts of their makers to make frequently unique objects that were still part of a recognisable and therefore meaningful style. The fact that some of these types also had regional tendencies suggests that trends toward particular attribute combinations may also indicate regional tastes. These regional preferences, which in some cases are quite strong, certainly stronger than has previously been demonstrable, act as a reminder of the complexity of the identities these objects signified and constructed. If we are going to call the broad region 'Anglian', then we must be aware of its geographical subdivisions as well as the chronological differences that will be brought out in the next chapter. Perhaps in some cases these regional characteristics even indicate particular craftspeople.

In marked contrast to the generally loose and composite designs of group 3, group 4 types, especially from sub-group 4.3 onward, were extremely consistent and tended to reproduce a limited number of templates. Even the most loosely structured types in group 4 (i.e. sub-group 4.1) consistently combined a foot form with a particular lappet and knob form. This was never the case in groups 1, 2 and 3. Hence, these more advanced brooches must have signified a slightly different kind of message that lacked the flexibility seen in groups 1, 2 and 3. They were also covered in complex iconography, significantly more intricate than anything that had come before. The structuring of group 4 brooches seems more obviously motivated toward more specific, less negotiable symbolism. Again, the regionalised distribution of some of these types indicates local tastes and perhaps smaller numbers of more highly skilled and controlled craftspeople, perhaps even individual workshops in some cases. Generally though, group 4 types were more widely distributed over larger distances and the easterly focus of groups 1, 2 and 3 were largely abandoned.

While these broad structural trends within the groups can be positively identified, it is also quite clear that the development of cruciform brooches was not linear. New forms did not entirely replace older ones. Decorative attributes continued to circulate as part of a repertoire drawn on by craftspeople to create new designs.

There are some interesting connections to be drawn between cruciform brooches and other decorative metalwork both within and beyond Anglo-Saxon England. While the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch commenced its development in group 1 as part of a generic, north-west European phenomenon whose products are barely distinguishable, by at least sub-group 1.2 the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch seems set on a course of independent, insular development. Most members of group 2 are easily distinguishable from their overseas counterparts from the Netherlands and Scandinavia, while groups 3 and 4 lack overseas equivalents almost entirely. At the same time, cruciform brooches from group 3 onward, through their integration of Style I, enter into a slightly different north-west European stylistic universe. While group 3 cruciform brooches append these Style I elements into their pre-existing forms (with just the minor addition of small lappets or top-knob finials), the incorporation of Style I on group 4 brooches altered their form dramatically and seems to guide the series down a path shared with the great square-headed brooch series, or perhaps even in imitation of it. This trend is most obviously evident in the tendency of group 4 brooches to broaden and flatten, but specific motifs and even whole attributes, such as head-plates and feet, become readily exchangeable between the two series of square-headed and cruciform brooches.

In terms of viewing the cruciform brooch as a material symbol, all these aspects are of the utmost significance. Variations in the level of structured design, from plain generic forms (group 1), through to specific but interchangeable attributes (groups 2 and 3), and onward to specific, highly structured and rigorously preserved combinations of particular motifs (group 4) obviously tell us something crucial about the changing meanings of cruciform brooches as material symbols. The cruciform brooch was at least three quite different things through the course of its development. These meanings will become main subjects of this book. First, however, it will be necessary to establish a chronology in order to understand just how contemporary many of these types were and over what kind of absolute timescales these stylistic developments occurred.

3

Building a Chronological Framework

While there is little doubt that the ordering of types in the previous chapter reflects a broad direction of chronological change from small and plain brooches to large and elaborate ones, this tells us little about which types were contemporary, how rapidly this development occurred, or if it was at an even pace. The significant extent to which components were exchanged between types suggests that many of them were contemporary, effectively constituting a pool of components from which craftspeople could copy and mix designs. While some tightly defined types probably possessed narrower chronological horizons, the more generic types most likely had longer periods of use. The purpose of building a chronological framework is to introduce phases to the typology by identifying contemporaneity between types before associating these phases with absolute dates.

Due to the abundance and rich stylistic development of cruciform brooches, their chronology is of significance. It forms an important part of the principal pre-existing Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and northern German chronologies.¹ Unfortunately, this predominance means dating cruciform brooches by their grave associations with other artefacts runs a major risk of circular argument. Among the insular material, only Birte Brugmann's chronology of beads is sufficiently independent to corroborate the cruciform brooch phasing.² Chiefly, however, the relative chronology will be constructed using only material that is internal to this study. Absolute dates are only attributable through chains of association, generally via Scandinavia, to continental coin-dated graves in Merovingia.³ These convoluted chains of association linking English, Scandinavian and Merovingian chronologies obviously carry with them a degree of risk, but other than a full rehearsal of the evidence, which is not within the remit of this book, there is little alternative. There are no means of deriving absolute dates directly from English material outside Kent until the seventh century, with the coin-dated burial in

¹ E.g. for Norway, see Bakka 1973; 1977; Kristoffersen 1999; 2000; Engevik 2008, 87–128. For England, see Hines 1984, 16–32; 1999a, 68. For northern Germany and Jutland, see Bode 1998, 23–68; Rau 2010, 61–63.

² Brugmann 2004a.

³ Werner 1935; Böhner 1958, 206–13; 1978, 11; Ament 1976; 1977; Nieveler and Siegmund 1999, 3; Theune 1999, 1.

mound 1 at Sutton Hoo.⁴ However, even if a substantial and reliable set of coin-dated or even radiocarbon-dated burials existed, the age of the accompanying brooch at its time of burial would remain unpredictable.⁵

Schetelig, Åberg and Leeds based their chronologies of the cruciform brooch on estimations of typological development strung between the pegs of the Nydam brooches and the end of traditional Anglo-Saxon furnished burial, with 25–50 years arbitrarily allotted to each major group.⁶ They also considered historical evidence, with cruciform brooches forced between the purported Germanic migrations of the earlier part of the fifth century, which supposedly brought cruciform brooches to these shores, and St Augustine's mission of AD 597, which they believed heralded the beginning of the end for so-called pagan furnished burial. Leeds replaced this terminal date with his 'Final Phase', permitting a transitional period between furnished pagan and unfurnished Christian burial extending well into the seventh century.⁷ Consequently, the cruciform brooch series was attributed dates in the earlier fifth and later sixth centuries, with the very last examples finding their way into graves as late as AD 625. Significantly, work since then has brought forward the end of typical early Anglo-Saxon grave assemblages (deposited before the start of Leeds' 'Final Phase'), to somewhere in the second half of the sixth century. The most recent and reliable account, combining grave group seriations with radiocarbon dates and Bayesian modelling, places this terminal date for female assemblages somewhere between 555–85.⁸ Established convention refers to the period in question, from the fifth to the later sixth century, as the Migration Period, which is itself partly defined by the appearance of cruciform brooches in the archaeological record (see below, p. 20).

Reichstein was the first to use a formal seriation of grave assemblages to date Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches, but its weak basis in only twenty-four grave groups seriously compromised its reliability, compared to the 305 graves utilised below.⁹ Moreover, Reichstein's investigations included only the present groups 1 and 2, with very few members of group 3 and none of group 4. This leaves his chronology somewhat open-ended, with a mass of barely differentiated brooches allotted only approximate dates somewhere in the sixth century. Since Reichstein's work, there have been only a few partial or unpublished accounts. Hayo Vierck

⁴ Hines 1999a, 76.

⁵ For a particularly pessimistic account see Wilson 1959. Due to relatively stable rates of atmospheric carbon from the mid-fifth to the later sixth century, radiocarbon dates cannot achieve any more accuracy than a century (see Scull and Bayliss 1999, 39).

⁶ Schetelig 1906, 152–4; Åberg 1926, 36, 38, 42, 48, 50; Leeds and Pocock 1971, 13.

⁷ Leeds 1936, 97.

⁸ Hines and Bayliss 2013, 456. This date is given with a 95 per cent probability, or 555–75 with a 68 per cent probability.

⁹ Reichstein (1975, 90) admits this was insufficient compared to the eighty-one grave groups he used to construct a seriation of the Norwegian series. Deficiencies in Reichstein's chronology have since been outlined in Dickinson 1978, 337; Hills 1981, 106; Magnus 1984; Hines 1993, 3; Engevik 2008, 105.

worked on the chronology of cruciform brooches and related items in the 1970s, but unfortunately only published a summary.¹⁰ John Hines observed many useful links between Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian cruciform brooch chronologies, upon which some of the present absolute chronology still depends.¹¹ As discussed before, Catherine Mortimer's chronological analysis was never published, though her results do not differ substantially from those presented here.¹² Mette Palm and John Pind's treatment of cruciform brooches and their related material broadly agreed with Mortimer and Hines' findings, but their attempt to establish detailed and mutually exclusive, rather than overlapping, phases was not convincing and additionally confused regional with chronological differences.¹³ Kenneth Penn and Birte Brugmann's analysis of East Anglian graves provided a more reliable localised sequence of cruciform brooches and there are some opportunities below to link this with the present chronology.¹⁴ Johanna Bode's meticulous account of a wider European sample of cruciform brooches, essentially produced three phases defined by specific sets of what I referred to in the previous chapter as 'components' (Bode's *Elementgruppen*). Broadly speaking, Bode's three *Elementgruppen* align with three phases suggested below, although the present account offers far more detail given the much larger size of the sample and the typological range it covers, and a few minor differences in the position of some components. The major difference between the present chronological analysis and Bode's is that while the latter dealt with brooches at the component level, the present account is to be used for dating whole brooches, though effectively it is capable of both purposes given the definition of these components in the previous chapter.

The following chronological framework first places the types into a number of standard phases and then uses external evidence to assign them absolute dates. The relative chronology relies on the seriation of three different categories of evidence: (a) decorative components (b) types of cruciform brooch associated by grave context and (c) grave associations with other artefact types. Although using three independent seriations alleviates some of the risks of each, the chronology still has more of a basis in probability than definitive production or burial dates. For instance, while it is certainly possible to state with confidence that particular brooch forms are more likely to occur in earlier contexts, exceptions are highly likely. Hence, this chronology is more suited to dating broad developments in the cruciform brooch series than individual items or their grave-associated material. Chronological studies based on extensive seriations of multiple artefact types, cemeteries and whole regions have long provided a more reliable method

¹⁰ Vierck 1977. It was knowledge of Vierck's work that led to Reichstein's partial treatment of the English cruciform brooches. See Reichstein 1975, 96.

¹¹ Hines 1984, 17–32; 1993, 2–3; 1997, 223–6. See Welch 1987 and 1999 for a critique.

¹² Mortimer 1990, 110–79.

¹³ Palm and Pind 1992. For a critique see Hines 1992; Bode 1998, 37–8.

¹⁴ Penn and Brugmann 2007.

of dating.¹⁵ Although this account can only reliably distinguish three major phases in the cruciform brooch sequence, I provide a somewhat more detailed, if highly speculative, account of the probable date of each type and the order in which they arose at the end of the chapter.

Relative Chronology I: A Seriation of Design Components

The typology presented in the previous chapter proposed a robust model of stylistic continuity, with a running assumption that the passage from group 1 to group 4 was broadly chronological. The ordering of the types and sub-groups usually expressed this sequence except where the series appeared to branch. These chronological assertions were, however, untested. A seriation of cruciform brooch design components illustrates the likely order in which the types developed with some empirical, quantified data. By considering the stylistic development of attribute combinations, rather than viewing brooches as indivisible objects, this analysis also provides some healthy counterbalance to the essentially artificial, if necessary, delineations that constitute the typology. The seriation of brooch attribute states works on the principle that each innovation consisted of some new design components, mixed with others borrowed from antecedents. Hence, contemporary brooches should share a similar range of components, as they were drawing from the same pool. Asking whether this continuum necessarily progresses in one chronological direction provokes a complex question. Although the seriation of grave-associated material presented below largely confirms an overall linear sequence, there are likely to have been minor retrogressions and perhaps regional branches of variation that may well have moved backwards or forwards along this continuum. Moreover, even a linear sequence does not necessarily progress at an even pace. Early types might have continued in production long after new varieties had superseded them on a regional or apparently random basis. Certain social contexts might also cause peaks in the creativity of craftspeople, resulting in the rapid development of new forms. Lengthy periods of conservatism might match such phases of innovation. For the purposes of establishing a chronology, this technique is therefore far more suggestive than it is decisive. It merely represents a model of likely directional change.

The seriation of design components uses the same statistical method of correspondence analysis implemented in the typology. However, while the typology utilised this technique to measure relatedness between proposed types, correspondence analysis can also be used to illustrate continuous stylistic development across the whole series. In order to encompass the whole series without swamping the analysis in detail, here the definition of design components is far more

¹⁵ E.g. Bakka 1973; Ament 1976; Malim and Hines 1998, 279–91; Penn and Brugmann 2007, 42–71; Rau 2010, 47–96; Hines and Bayliss 2013. See also papers in Kossack and Reichstein 1977, Jørgensen 1992 and Hines, Høilund Nielsen and Siegmund 1999.

Table 2. The broad classifications used for the seriation of brooch components.

Top-knobs	1. Fully round 2. Half round 3. Crescentic finial 4. Zoomorphic finial 5. Entirely zoomorphic (i.e. group 4) 6. None (i.e. great square-headed hybrid)
Head-plates	1. Small, narrow or no wings 2. Medium, rectangular wings 3. Medium, trapezoid wings 4. Large, narrow or no wings 5. Great square-headed
Bows	1. Plain 2. Bossed 3. Panelled and bossed or just panelled
Nostrils	1. None (i.e. type 1.1.1) 2. Ovoid/semi-circular 3. Spiral 4. Style I
Foot	1. Faceted (i.e. type 1.1.1) 2. Unexpanded, eyes and nostrils (i.e. group 1 or 2) 3. Unexpanded, brow, eyes and nostrils (i.e. group 2) 4. Expanded (i.e. group 3 or 4) 5. Expanded with humanoid nose (i.e. group 3 or 4)
Surface	1. No treatment 2. Gilded/bichrome

general and specifically chosen to highlight components that seem to undergo directional changes between groups 1 and 4. The twenty-five attribute states are described in Table 2. They are intentionally not illustrated because many of them, especially the foot forms, actually take in a very wide range of variation. Their purpose is to cut across the types and groups created in the previous chapter in order to isolate just the very broadest apparent successive changes that occur as we move from group 1 to 4.

Like the correspondence analyses in the previous chapter, the first two axes of variation are plotted against each other to create a scatter of points. This time,

however, a smooth and gradual parabola is sought rather than the presence or absence of clusters. Such a plot indicates continuity with incremental change and the progression of objects along the first (horizontal) axis should broadly reflect their chronological progression. The extrapolation of a seriation from such plots has become a common tool in chronological analysis and its use with related early medieval material, indeed even cruciform brooches, is well explored.¹⁶ Of course, the sequence of cases along the first axis can have a number of explanations, including gradual change between regional styles, although the successive analyses below support the case that the sequence in this case is largely down to chronology.

A smooth parabola is usually only achieved by removing the outliers and variables that have no significance to the general sequence.¹⁷ The process of removing such cases itself can become an important aid to understanding the guiding principles of the chronology under investigation. Aspects that cause outliers or drag the parabola away from a smooth curve will usually be brooches that are chronologically aberrant, such as otherwise advanced brooches with a single primitive feature, or components that have no significance to the chronological sequence. The analysis presented here used only the 613 complete cruciform brooches that were included in the correspondence analyses of the previous chapter. Thus, some brooches with anomalous features had already been removed, including the entirety of sub-group 3.0 for its mixing of group 2 and 3 components. After a few initial analyses, a smooth parabola was achieved by removing a further five outlying (and therefore probably chronologically anomalous) brooches. These included #738, #744, #749, #766 and #810; four type 3.2.2 brooches, and one each from types 3.2.3 and 3.2.6. The reasons for the removal of all these brooches was the presence of a medium sized head-plate with rectangular wings, combined with relatively late features such as humanoid noses (in type 3.2.2), or Style I nostrils (in the cases of #766 and #810). It might therefore be stated that the trend toward the expanding head-plate with trapezoid wings is a fairly consistent indicator of a relative date, as those few brooches that do not conform to this (five out of 613, less than 1 per cent), markedly stand out. Although preliminary analyses experimented with a foot terminal attribute (presence, absence, shape and size), the inclusion of this variable only dispersed the parabola, indicating that terminals have a more complex chronological significance, as they are not consistently present on advanced brooches nor necessarily smaller on earlier ones. Types of lappet were also explored as indicators of chronology including their presence or absence altogether, their specific motifs or lack of them, and the relative complexity of their motifs. None of these experiments was successful, and any attempts to include lappets did nothing but disperse the parabola. This suggests that simple motifs did not give rise to more complex ones, nor were more complex ones simplified in an entirely linear manner. Rather, this process of simplification (or, less

¹⁶ E.g. Hines 1999a; Høilund Nielsen 1995; 1997; Jensen and Høilund Nielsen 1997; Jørgensen 1992; Penn and Brugmann 2007.

¹⁷ For summaries of this method, see Høilund Nielsen 1995; Jensen and Høilund Nielsen 1997, 49.

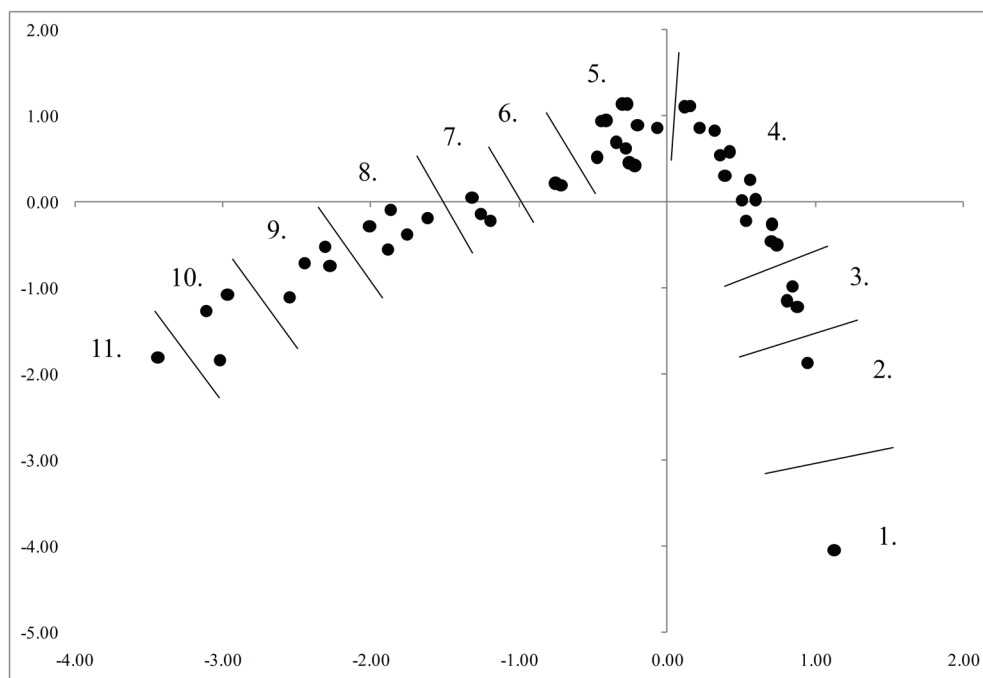


Figure 39. Annotated correspondence analysis object plot.

likely, elaboration) was continuous and probably moved back and forth. The difficulty of fitting lappets into the seriation provides yet more evidence to suggest that the chronological significance of sub-group 3.1 (group 3 brooches without lappets) is not as an intermediate step between groups 2 and 3, but rather as a branch from that latter group. It also helps justify the typological designation of these brooches as group 3 brooches, rather than as an intermediary group that preceding typologies have favoured.

Figure 39 shows the correspondence analysis object plot of the final 608 brooches that were analysed. The direction of chronological development in such analyses is arbitrary, but in this case, we might assume that it is from right to left, which commences with group 1 and finishes with group 4 (see below). Gaps between object points essentially amount to typological jumps. They do not, however, correspond with the passage of time, so the longer, more gradual curve of the left-hand side of the plot does not amount to a slower development, but merely that it is easier to make distinctions between these objects. Because adding labels to this plot would create an incoherent mass of text, the curve has instead been divided up into eleven clusters. This number is largely arbitrary. It is a result of placing a division at the ten most obvious gaps in the sequence. The types contained within each of these divisions or 'style phases' is given as a sorted matrix in

Table 3. The progression from types 1.1.1 to 4.7.2 is very clear indeed, and broadly runs in the order of the typological sequence given in the previous chapter, with a few exceptions. It should not be surprising that types 1.1.1 and 4.7.2 are almost isolated in their style phases given that they are marginal members of the cruciform brooch series. As such, they act to bookend the sequence. These two types aside, three broad phases can be imposed upon the data, although the sequence is in fact remarkably continuous. The first break occurs broadly between groups 1 and 2, with a set of brooches running up to about style phase 3. On the curve, these are characterised by quite large breaks between clusters. This is followed by style phases 4 and 5 combining a mass of highly interconnected brooches from groups 2 and 3, which we might argue were essentially contemporary given their evident free mixing of components. A further break occurs between style phases 5 and 6, which leads into the next group of clusters, characterised on the curve by regular spacing and evidently well-defined combinations of components. This last set of brooches consists of group 4 and some latter members of group 3. If one were to try and divide the last group further, a division might be drawn between style phases 8 and 9, drawing a distinction before and after sub-groups 4.3 and 4.4, as this is the point of least connection in the sequence (i.e. brooches either side of this division had little mutual influence). It should additionally be noted that the miniature counterparts, in the cases of both sub-groups 2.2 and 3.4, are demonstrably not the earliest members of their groups, as they tend to follow their larger counterparts on the seriation. This is perhaps more obvious in group 2 than it is in group 3, where a number of larger brooches also follow these miniature versions. The overall picture therefore accords well with the findings of the previous chapter. Not only do group 2 and 3 brooches share a similar design structure, but they also share a number of specific components, leading to the concentration of objects around the mid-point of the seriation curve in Figure 39.

Figure 40 shows a similar plot of the individual brooch components rather than the objects themselves, which provides some indication of their chronological significance (or irrelevance). For instance, distinguishing between the nostril form and overall foot form does not make a huge amount of difference, as each is plotted very close to the other. Taken together, however, these components are equally spaced along the parabola, suggesting they are a useful indicator. As outlined above, the equal spacing of head-plate shapes seems also to be chronologically significant. It is also interesting that bows with just bosses (bow 2) occur earlier in the sequence than bows with panels (bow 3) and are actually placed quite far apart, making the precise type of bow decoration also possibly significant to chronology. There is also little purpose in distinguishing between top-knobs with crescentic finials (top-knob 3) and zoomorphic finials (top-knob 4) as both seem to enter the sequence simultaneously.¹⁸ The other top-knob forms,

¹⁸ This probably echoes the problem of distinguishing chronologically between blank and decorated lappets, outlined above.

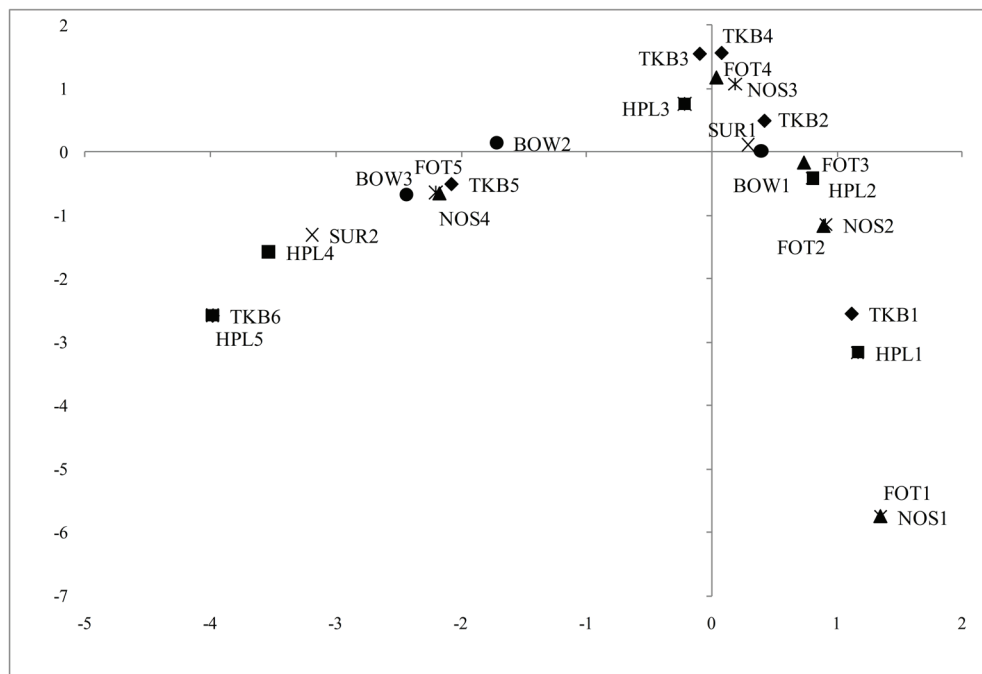


Figure 40. Correspondence analysis variable plot.

however, all run in a neat sequence. The presence of gilding (surface 2) also makes a clear chronological distinction, if not a particularly valuable one given its lack of nuance.

In sum, seriating the components given in Table 2 acts to reinforce the observations given at the end of the last chapter. There are no obvious breaks in the sequence. Neither do the imposed divisions themselves tell us anything much about the lengths of the phases. These results do, however, reconfirm the tripartite division of stylistic structure explored in the previous chapter, with the earlier end of group 1 and the latter end of group 4 looking largely distinct, with their more transitional members mixed in with a mass of highly interrelated group 2 and 3 brooches in the middle. Though at this stage in the analysis they are loosely defined, these three phases will henceforth be referred to as A, B and C.

Relative Chronology II: A Seriation of Grave-Associated Cruciform Brooches

Multiple cruciform brooches regularly occur in the same grave. Generally, such instances constitute pairs of the same type, which obviously cannot help with a seriation. Occasionally, however, more than one type occurs in the same grave, strongly suggesting broad contemporaneity. In the current dataset, fifty-three

Table 4. List of grave-associated cruciform brooch types.

Alveston Manor grave 70	2.1.1; 2.1.2
Bergh Apton grave 6	2.1.3; 3.2.7
Cleatham grave 30	2.1.2; 3.2.1
Cleatham grave 34	3.1.1; 3.2.6
Cleatham grave 41	2.1.2; 2.1.3
Fonaby grave 43	3.2.1; 3.2.6
Girton grave 33	2.2.2; 3.2.3
Holywell row grave 48	2.1.2; 2.2.2
Holywell Row grave 79	2.1.4; 3.1.1; 3.3.1
Holywell Row grave 99	3.2.1; 3.2.3
Little Wilbraham grave 40	3.0.2; 3.2.5
Little Wilbraham grave 73	2.1.2; 3.4.1
Little Wilbraham grave 95	3.2.2; 3.4.1
Little Wilbraham grave 171	3.2.1; 3.3.1
Londesborough grave 9	3.2.1; 3.2.4
Morning Thorpe grave 30	2.1.2; 3.1.1
Morning Thorpe grave 90	2.1.1; 2.1.2
Morning Thorpe grave 353	2.2.2; 4.1.1
Nassington grave 28	3.2.1; 3.3.1; 3.3.2
Sewerby grave 12	2.1.1; 3.4.4
Sheffield's Hill grave 1	3.2.1; 3.2.6
Snape grave 10	2.1.2; 3.2.7
Spong Hill cremation 3055	2.1.2; 3.1.1
Spong Hill grave 22	2.2.3; 3.2.4
Tallington I grave 8	2.1.1; 3.2.1
Wakerley grave 1	2.2.1; 2.2.2
Wakerley grave 25	2.2.2; 2.2.3
Welbeck Hill grave 64	3.0.1; 3.2.1
Westgarth Gardens grave 61	2.1.1; 3.1.1

graves contained more than one cruciform brooch. The highest number from any one context is grave 30 at Cleatham, which contained five (though they were only of two different types). However, only twenty-nine reliably recorded graves

contained more than one readily classifiable type.¹⁹ These are given in Table 4. Even these few graves produce a highly complex web of grave-associated types, which indicates that most of these types were broadly contemporary. It is probably the absence of group 1 and virtually all of group 4 from these graves that is most telling. The greatest stylistic range (according to the seriation curve above) expressed between the grave-associated cruciform brooches lies between types 2.1.1 and 4.1.1, the most primitive members of groups 2 and 4 respectively. This is a substantial typological distance, but even this is traversable in just three steps with the following grave assemblages: (1) grave 90 at Morning Thorpe associates type 2.1.1 with 2.1.2; (2) grave 48 at Holywell Row then associates type 2.1.2 with 2.2.2; then finally (3) grave 353 at Morning Thorpe associates types 2.2.2 with 4.1.1. Nevertheless, it is reassuring that even these three steps are more than exists between most of the other types, which are all less distant in terms of their stylistic features. Hence, the three steps it takes to traverse between a type 2.1.1 and 4.1.1 indicate that it was unlikely for brooches of this type to have been in circulation simultaneously. Nevertheless, this is a fragile formulation and it could be entirely disrupted by a single further discovery linking, for instance, an early looking type 2.1.1 brooch with another from type 4.1.1, which does not seem an entirely implausible prospect.

Group 1 brooches do not occur in association with other types and there is only a single group 4 association.²⁰ This results in three major phases, which relate directly to the phases A, B and C generated from the correspondence analysis (above, p. 99), apparently quite starkly distinguished by the rates at which cruciform brooches of different types were worn together and deposited in the same grave. Despite this apparent isolation, the above seriation of design components suggested those earliest and latest brooches were not completely separate from the intermediate group. The typological characteristics of type 1.2.2 link groups 1 and 2, while type 4.1.1 and its closely associated types link groups 3 and 4. Nevertheless, the earliest end of group 1 and the most advanced end of group 4 contain types that seemingly developed independently from the mass of highly interrelated intermediate types in groups 2 and 3. This strongly suggests that brooches at the extreme ends of groups 1 and 4 were produced in an antecedent

¹⁹ This total excludes two further graves due to their unreliability. The first is grave 122 from Abingdon, which contained a type 1.1.1 brooch (#1) and a fragment of what appears to be a sub-group 2.2 brooch (#523). Although the lack of a proper classification for that second brooch is unfortunate, this grave may well indicate the longevity of type 1.1.1. The second excluded grave is grave 173-4 from Little Wilbraham, whose numbering indicates it may well consist of either a double grave or two separate graves whose contents have been confused.

²⁰ Though see note 19 in this chapter on Abingdon grave 122. Although only the head-plates survive, cremation 48,2282 from Lackford associates a sub-group 1.2 head-plate with what could be a head-plate from group 2 (#168, #1849). Additionally, what might have been a single grave from Colchester associates a type 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 brooch (#86 and #114). However, the circumstances of its discovery (metal-detecting on two separate occasions) are not sufficiently secure enough to make this assumption. See Crummy 1981, 10.

Table 5. Seriation of grave-associated cruciform brooch types.

[illegible]

Table 5. (cont.) Seriation of grave-associated cruciform brooch types.

[illegible]

and subsequent phases to most members of groups 2 and 3. The absence of these highly primitive and advanced forms from the grave associations confirms this. Consequently, the seriation of grave-associated cruciform brooches is concerned only with the intermediate phase B.

Table 4 can be sorted into the matrix of grave associated brooches provided in Table 5. The seriation is not perfect, though it does broadly demonstrate the types that were more likely to be associated with each other. There is one notable anomaly, which is the association of a supposedly early type 2.1.1 brooch with an advanced type 3.4.4 brooch in grave 12 from Sewerby in Yorkshire (#228, #995, #996). This coincidence demonstrates once again the fragility of this sequence, but it is also explicable in terms of the characteristics of this specific type 2.1.1 brooch, which appears highly advanced within its type and not typical of most members, which tend to share many of their characteristics with type 1.2.2 (it is almost identical to the brooch from St John's in Plate 5.1). As mentioned above, what this matrix demonstrates most decisively is that the majority of these types, comprising all the major varieties of groups 2 and 3, are highly interrelated. Hence, drawing abrupt delineations within Table 5 are inappropriate. It therefore tells us much the same as the middle section of the seriation curve of brooch components explored above. That is, phase B is characterised by a mass of interrelated brooch forms that not only shared components, but were also worn on the same costume. Despite such high rates of interconnectedness, it is possible to observe the probable longevity of those types with the highest number of associations. For instance, most of group 2 (specifically types 2.1.1, 2.1.2, and 2.2.2) and the major group 3 varieties (3.1.1, 3.2.1 and 3.3.1), are all associated with a wide range of types (i.e. four or more), suggesting that their use spanned most of phase B. These major types display substantial internal stylistic development. Less common types, however, tend to possess fewer grave associations and occur slightly later in both seriations. For instance, type 3.2.2 is only associated with a single type 3.4.2 brooch. Type 3.2.3 is similarly associated with only group 3 brooches, as are types 3.2.2 and 3.2.5. These types often possess stylistically advanced features, such as anthropomorphic foot decoration and Style I nostrils. The fact that they all only possess grave associations with stylistically advanced brooches largely accords with their advanced position on the stylistic seriation. Conversely, type 3.2.7, lacking spiral nostrils and advanced grave associations, occurs relatively early in both. Type 2.1.4, unusually for group 2, possesses spiral nostrils. Perhaps as a consequence it occurs at the advanced end of the major group 2 forms on both seriations. Once again, it is important to note that the miniaturised brooches in sub-groups 2.2 and 3.4 seem to follow their larger counterparts in the sequence, with one specific type (2.2.2) potentially having the most advanced association of all (with a type 4.1.1 brooch).

Of course, caution is necessary for this seriation of grave-associated cruciform brooches given the small number of twenty-nine graves involved. Nevertheless, the preceding correspondence analysis of components largely replicates these

results. This seriation of grave-associated brooches, however, provides a warning against the impression of an unproblematic, sequential, linear series given by the correspondence analysis seriation curve. The present analysis proves that most members of groups 2 and 3 were contemporary to the extent that they are not reliably distinguishable from their associated grave contexts. Although from a typological perspective it seems likely that group 2 pre-dates group 3, and both of the above analyses demonstrate this at least tentatively, the development between them obviously took place rapidly enough for individuals to have easily obtained items from both groups. Perhaps instead we should envision a situation in which the popularity of group 3 brooches increased over the course of phase B, while group 2 brooches declined in favour. Brooches of group 1 and the later members of group 4, however, seem to possess sharper chronological boundaries.

Relative Chronology III: A Seriation of Associated Dress Ornaments

Seriations of grave-related objects using correspondence analysis are common among studies of early medieval chronology and the 305 Anglo-Saxon grave contexts containing cruciform brooches initially promise an ideal application of the method. However, several attempts at this, trying a number of different variables, produced no reliable results. The reason for this is that cruciform brooches usually occur with the same few dress-related objects (annular brooches, small long brooches, beads, girdle-hangers and wrist-clasps), which all display considerably less obvious chronological variation than cruciform brooches. Additionally, regionality has a greater impact than chronology in some of these cases. Most other associated objects, such as iron keys, ceramics, knives, buckles and rings, do not display sufficient stylistic variation for a chronological account. We once again find ourselves dealing with a mass of frequently associated objects with too few reliable graves either side of the spectrum. These drawbacks render a seriation problematic but not impossible.

The above two seriations suggested that a basic sequence exists from groups 1 to 4, with a large degree of overlap between broadly contemporary groups 2 and 3. The first step in the seriation of associated grave goods is therefore to test this premise. At the outset, however, it is necessary to make some distinction between inhumation and cremation assemblages, as there is also a chronological relationship between the two rites. Table 6 provides the differential rates of deposition of all cruciform brooch groups between cremations and inhumation. The pattern is abundantly clear. For group 1 brooches, the proportions found in cremations to inhumations dramatically decrease between groups 1 and 2, from 69 per cent down to 12 per cent, and then decrease once again to a steady level between 3 and 4 per cent for groups 3 and 4. Hence, there is a major distinction between group 1 (phase A), and the rest of the series, with far more cruciform brooches of this group ending up in cremations. Additionally, the slightly higher rate of cremation for group 2 brooches suggests a slightly earlier date for some examples than

Table 6. Comparing rates of deposition of cruciform brooch groups between inhumation and cremation.

<i>Context</i>	<i>Group 1</i>	<i>Group 2</i>	<i>Group 3</i>	<i>Group 4</i>
Inhumation	31% (n = 8)	88% (n = 58)	97% (n = 138)	96% (n = 44)
Cremation	69% (n = 18)	12% (n = 8)	3% (n = 5)	4% (n = 2)

most group 3 brooches. Cremation was, in general, an earlier mortuary rite in eastern early Anglo-Saxon England, although it continued at a diminished level for the entirety of the period and even into the seventh century.²¹ These figures therefore support the idea that most group 1 brooches belong to a distinctly earlier phase than the rest of the series and that some members of group 2 likely precede the majority of group 3.

Compared to inhumations, not only do cremations generally include fewer items overall, but copper alloy and glass frequently melt in the pyre and become unidentifiable amorphous lumps. Because inhumation and cremation are distinctly different ritual processes, we cannot be certain that the deceased was dressed according to the same ritually prescribed rules. Even if the mortuary costumes of both rites were assembled similarly, we do not know how much of the pyre debris was collected in the urn. Hence, a chronological analysis combining both inhumed and cremated assemblages risks confusing ritual and taphonomic patterning for chronological difference. Given that there are only thirty-two cremations containing cruciform brooches to which we can assign a type, this chronological analysis of grave assemblages will focus only on the higher quality data provided by the 244 inhumed assemblages from early Anglo-Saxon England that contained cruciform brooches.²²

Relative quantities of the most commonly associated items with cruciform brooches, including small long brooches, annular brooches, wrist-clasps and girdle-hangers, demonstrate some interesting trends that are likely to be chronological. Table 7 shows that while associations with small long brooches decrease from being present in 33 per cent of grave contexts containing group 1 and 2 cruciform brooches, this decreases to 29 per cent for group 3, and even further to 20 per cent in group 4. Conversely, associations with annular brooches and wrist-clasps display notable incremental increases as we traverse from groups 1 to 4. Associations with girdle-hangers, which are far fewer and therefore less reliable, show a slight increase between groups 2 and 3, from 5 per cent to 8 per cent, which increases again by the same increment to 11 per cent for group 4.

²¹ Hills 1999, 20; Hills and Lucy 2013, 229.

²² A further twenty-three cremations are known containing cruciform brooches, though their state of fragmentation does not permit identification even at the group level. The same is true for six further inhumations containing fragmented cruciform brooches.

Table 7. Relative and absolute frequencies of small long brooches, annular brooches, wrist-clasps and girdle-hangers associated with different cruciform brooch groups.

Type	Group 1 (n = 9)	Group 2 (n = 58)	Group 3 (n = 138)	Group 4 (n = 44)
Small long	3 (33%)	19 (33%)	40 (29%)	9 (20%)
Annular	1 (11%)	8 (14%)	69 (50%)	21 (48%)
Moulded annular	none	2 (3%)	4 (3%)	3 (7%)
All wrist-clasps	1 (11%)	25 (43%)	76 (55%)	27 (61%)
B7 wrist-clasps	none	3 (5%)	20 (15%)	11 (25%)
B13 wrist-clasps	none	7 (12%)	22 (16%)	8 (18%)
Girdle-hangers	none	3 (5%)	11 (8%)	5 (11%)

Because all four of the most commonly combined grave goods with cruciform brooches display unambiguously unidirectional trends of increasing or decreasing rates of association, this basic seriation suggests, just as the previous two seriations have, that the relative chronology of cruciform brooches runs from group 1 through to group 4. Of course, probability plays a substantial role. For example, although annular brooches will accompany group 4 brooches 48 per cent of the time, as much as 14 per cent of group 2 brooches will also have this association (Table 7). Hence, it is not possible to suggest that a cruciform brooch found with an annular brooch is necessarily later than one found with a small long brooch.²³ Indeed, both are likely to have been broadly contemporary. Nevertheless, an overview of these trends across the whole of the cruciform brooch series provides convincing evidence that corroborates very well with the previous two seriations.

The sixty-eight associations with small long brooches might initially promise a good opportunity for a seriation based on their specific types. However, numerous and varied attempts at constructing a concordance between small long and cruciform brooch types produced no convincing results.²⁴ The major problem is that the generally accepted classification of small long brooches according to their specific head-plate forms, as well as their foot shape, does not seem to have any obvious chronological significance, or at least none which accords directly

²³ Nevertheless, Penn and Brugmann (2007, 25) found similar trends in East Anglian cemeteries and suggest that annular brooches were a later adoption in England than cruciform and small long brooches.

²⁴ The following variables were investigated: Leeds' broad types (e.g. cross potent, cross pattee, etc.), the differences between Leeds' prototype and derivative types, presence or absence of lap-pets and the shape of the terminal (narrow, spatulate or crescentic). That the latter two variables should fail to generate chronologically significant results is not surprising given the similar failure to gain results with these variables on cruciform brooches, see above p. 95.

with the proposed cruciform brooch chronology.²⁵ Although it is important not to rule out any chronological patterning that a more detailed study of small long brooches may reveal, for the time being we must surmise that most of their forms, as we presently understand them, were broadly contemporary with quite diverse forms of cruciform brooch.

Similarly, no satisfactory typology of annular brooches at present exists.²⁶ As they are very plain objects, the prospect of a fine chronology based on their form or decoration is in any case unlikely. Nevertheless, a broad and obvious distinction exists between the more common flat versions often decorated with punch marks and incised ornament, which have seventy-seven certain associations with cruciform brooches, and the rarer segmented moulded versions which are associated with cruciform brooches in only nine cases. Unfortunately, these low numbers of the moulded varieties are not sufficient for any meaningful analysis and in any case do not show any particular convincing trends, occurring at around the 3 per cent level in groups 2 and 3 and increasing slightly with group 4 to 7 per cent, with no group 1 associations (see Table 7).²⁷

Wrist-clasps are the only commonly associated object with cruciform brooches to possess a comprehensive typology.²⁸ A more detailed correspondence with the cruciform brooch groups is therefore possible. Hines divides wrist-clasps into three broad types: class A are the most basic variety made from spiralled wire, class B constitute a diverse range of basic cast designs, while class C offer more complex forms decorated in Style I. Most types have grave associations with cruciform brooches, including a small number of classes A and C, but class B predominates including forms B7, B8, B9, B12, B13, B14, B16, B17, B18, B19 and B20. Of all wrist-clasp varieties, only the most common forms B7 (thirty-four occurrences) and B13 (thirty-seven occurrences) offer sufficient quantities to draw even tentative chronological arguments. Wrist-clasps of both forms, however, remain relatively stable through groups 2, 3 and 4 when normalised against the overall increases in wrist-clasp occurrences through the series (see Table 7).

To summarise, chronological distinctions between group 1 and the rest of the series are borne out by the near absence of these early brooches from the analysis. Where associated objects are present, group 1 brooches tend to sit on the correct

²⁵ Leeds 1945, 4–44. The only potential pattern in these data is a slight increasing rate of square-headed small long brooches over time, while associations with cross potent small long brooches decreases. However, the sample size is so small (only thirty-two occurrences of these types altogether) that presenting these results as percentages might be misleading. See Martin 2011, 125 for more details.

²⁶ See Leeds 1945, 46–9; Hines 1984, 262; 1997, 247; Ager 1985. Penn and Brugmann (2007, 25) suggested that the shape of the pin and the perforation that holds it might hold chronological significance, with a slot or oval hole indicating earlier dates than a circular one. This was not tested here, as this variable is very difficult to distinguish without first-hand examination of a great many examples.

²⁷ Although the quantities here are too small to be of much use, see Hines and Bayliss 2013, 367 and comments on the potentially later dates of the smaller moulded annular brooches.

²⁸ Hines 1993, 4–75.

end of the unidirectional trend that runs through the other groups, whether it is increasing or decreasing. The dramatically different rates of inhumation and cremation between group 1 and the rest of the series also support the idea of a significant chronological break. This distinction in mortuary ritual, however, does little to distinguish the rest of the series, except, perhaps a slightly greater tendency toward cremation among group 2 forms. Like the previous analyses, the seriation of grave assemblages indicates some gradual chronological distinction between the broadly contemporary groups 2 and 3. However, the incremental nature of this change makes it very difficult to draw up bold delineations within phase B. Group 4 continues the chronological trends illustrated between the other groups, although in this case the distinctions are not as abrupt as the previous seriations have suggested. In this instance, many of these stylistically advanced brooches seem to have occurred in the same broad environment as members of groups 2 and 3. Chronological distinction is therefore more easily demonstrable only halfway through group 4, precisely where a distinction can be drawn on the seriation of brooch components (see above, p. 97). The very latest brooches are distinguished by their almost independent typological development and their complete absence from the seriation of grave-associated cruciform brooch types. These major distinctions appear to fall at least after sub-group 4.1 (from the seriation of grave-associated cruciform brooches) or even 4.3 (from the seriation of design components). Table 8 shows a recalculation of the figures in Table 7 with a division drawn up between sub-groups 4.3 and 4.4. It demonstrates a far more convincing delineation between the penultimate and final phases, with those earlier members of group 4 (sub-groups 4.1–4.3), coming from assemblages far closer even to group 2 than those latter members of group 4 (sub-groups 4.4–4.7), which makes a strong case for drawing up the chronological boundary between phases B and C halfway through group 4, rather than between groups 3 and 4.²⁹

Table 8. Relative frequencies of small long brooches, annular brooches and wrist-clasps between the two halves of group 4.

<i>Type</i>	<i>Sub-groups 4.1–4.3 (n = 20)</i>	<i>Sub-groups 4.4–4.7 (n = 23)</i>
Small long (n = 9)	7 (35%)	2 (9%)
Annular (n = 21)	8 (40%)	13 (56%)
Wrist-clasps (n = 27)	10 (50%)	17 (74%)

²⁹ Penn and Brugmann's East Anglian chronology similarly suggested relatively early dates for these primitive group 4 forms. See Penn and Brugmann 2007, 48.

Concordance with Bead Group Phasing

As mentioned above, the only Anglo-Saxon relative phasing constructed completely independently of cruciform brooches is Birte Brugmann's chronology of bead groups. Although Brugmann states that the chronological correspondence between beads and decorative metalwork in graves is generally poor, significant concordance with the present cruciform brooch chronology is identifiable.³⁰ Brugmann's chronology consists of three overlapping bead phases, A, B and C. Only the chronological range of the first two concerns us here. Bead phase A subdivides into A1, A2 and A2b, which together cover the same period as the cruciform brooch series.³¹ Bead phase B1, however, overlaps with A2 and happens to include a single cruciform brooch association. Bead phase B2 occurs only after the cruciform brooch series has ceased. Brugmann has analysed and attributed phases to seventy-five of the graves containing cruciform brooches in the present dataset.³² Table 9 shows substantial differences between all four cruciform brooch groups. As might be expected, no bead group associations are present for group 1 and comparing groups 2 and 3 reveals a predominance of bead phases A1 and A2 respectively, with the earlier A1 beads dominant among group 2 cruciform brooches, and the slightly later A2 beads clearly dominant among cruciform brooch groups 3 and 4 (at approximately the same level). Group 4 has a solitary coincidence with bead phase B1. Unfortunately, the sample size is too small to divide group 4 into its phase B and C halves (i.e. by introducing a split between sub-groups 4.3 and 4.4) and still gain reliable results, but doing so would further increase the disparity between bead phases A1 and A2, as the single occurrence of bead phase B1 is reassuringly with a type 4.7.1 brooch. This evidence does however contribute to the suggestion that a proportion of group 2 brooches were indeed earlier than most group 3 brooches, even if drawing a line between them is not possible with the present evidence.

Combining the Seriations into a Relative Chronology

The picture from all three analyses indicates total continuity between groups 1 to 4. There are no complete breaks in the sequence and where one seriation suggests a major break, at least one of the other seriations closes this gap. It is therefore likely that all the proposed phases overlap to some extent, some more than others. Nevertheless, some chronological distinction is both demonstrable and necessary. All sources of evidence indicate the same basic tripartite division: an early period containing most of group 1 (phase A), an intermediate period

³⁰ Brugmann 2004a, 52.

³¹ Given the small numbers of A2b associations (three, all with group 3 brooches), this phase is here subsumed into the A2 category.

³² See Brugmann 2004b for a downloadable spreadsheet of these graves.

Table 9. Concordance between Brugmann's bead phases and cruciform brooch groups.

<i>Bead phase</i>	<i>Group 1 (n = 0)</i>	<i>Group 2 (n = 19)</i>	<i>Group 3 (n = 48)</i>	<i>Group 4 (n = 14)</i>
A (n = 14)	none	2 (11%)	9 (19%)	3 (21%)
A1 (n = 29)	none	14 (73%)	18 (36%)	4 (29%)
A2 (n = 31)	none	3 (16%)	21 (44%)	7 (50%)
B1 (n = 1)	none	none	none	1 (7%)

containing groups 2, 3 and some of group 4 (phase B) and a final period populated by the most advanced members of group 4 (phase C). All three seriations indicate a very gradual chronological sequence within phase B, with the production of some types likely continuing throughout its entirety, while others probably possessed limited chronological horizons. The major types, displaying the largest degree of internal variation, probably lasted through the whole of phase B (e.g. types 2.1.2, 2.2.2, 3.1.1, 3.2.1). Consequently, not all group 2 forms can simply be agglomerated into an earlier part of phase B because of their relatively primitive forms. Types like 2.1.1 and 2.1.2, for instance, probably continued in production throughout phase B, given their widespread popularity and varied forms. Sub-group 2.2 seems to be slightly later than their larger counterparts. Conversely, specifically primitive forms, such as many members of types 2.1.1 and 2.1.3, probably belonged to an earlier part of phase B. Neither do all members of sub-groups 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 necessarily belong to a later part of phase B. The seriation of grave assemblages tentatively suggests that some of these, such as type 4.1.1, may have even occurred safely within phase B and not even necessarily at its latter end. We must also recall the close typological associations between all members of sub-group 4.1 (see above, p. 68). Although their contemporaneity cannot be demonstrated from this evidence alone, it seems likely. Similar chronological distinction might even be evident in the stylistic developments within phases A and C. Type 1.1.2, for instance, being less stylistically advanced than sub-group 1.2, probably belongs to an earlier part of phase A. Type 1.2.2, due to its close links with group 2, may be slightly later, overlapping with an early part of phase B. Type 1.1.1 displays considerable stylistic variation and probably spanned phase A, perhaps even running into the earlier part of phase B.³³ Many members of type 4.3.2, given their highly devolved Style I ornamentation, may well actually belong to phase C. Within phase C, type 4.7.1 was probably among

³³ Grave 122 at Abingdon may well indicate this with its association of a 1.1.1 brooch (#1) and what appears to be a fragmentary sub-group 2.2 brooch (see note 19, above). Again, grave 9 at Cleatham is one of very few inhumations that includes a group 1 cruciform brooch (type 1.1.1, #2) as well as a small long brooch, indicating perhaps a slightly later date. Both of these brooches, perhaps significantly, have a slightly flared foot.

Table 10. The relative phasing of cruciform brooch types.

<i>Relative phase</i>	<i>Types</i>
Phase A	1.1.1; 1.1.2; 1.2.1; 1.2.2
Phase B	2.1.1; 2.1.2; 2.1.3; 2.1.4; 2.2.1; 2.2.2; 2.2.3; 2.2.4; 3.0.1; 3.0.2; 3.1.1; 3.1.2; 3.2.1; 3.2.2; 3.2.3; 3.2.4; 3.2.5; 3.2.6; 3.2.7; 3.2.8; 3.2.9; 3.2.10; 3.3.1; 3.3.2; 3.4.1; 3.4.2; 3.4.3; 3.4.4; 3.5; 4.1.1; 4.1.2; 4.1.3; 4.2.1; 4.3.1; 4.3.2
Phase C	4.4.1; 4.5.1; 4.6.1; 4.6.2; 4.7.1; 4.7.2

the latest types, lying as it does at the terminal end of the cruciform brooch's stylistic development. This is certainly indicated by its association with a bead group of bead phase B1.³⁴ The relative chronology without these nuances and exceptions is summarised in Table 10.

Finer chronologies than those provided by phases A to C could perhaps be constructed based on individual graves, cemeteries or regions. An overall chronology of a single brooch type does not provide the best opportunity for such analyses, given the level of detail they demand. Identifying earlier and later brooches within these phases demands detailed discussions of individual examples and their contexts. However, the evidence for such subdivisions becomes rapidly anecdotal and lacks the weight of empirical evidence, given the relatively small number of grave contexts available for the minor types.³⁵ It would be prudent to leave such distinctions to future work based on a wider base of evidence than just one brooch form.

Kenneth Penn and Birte Bruggmann have in fact produced one such analysis of inhumation burial in East Anglia.³⁶ Correspondence between the present phases and Penn and Bruggmann's yields similar results to those gained by comparison with the bead chronology above, which is not surprising given that Bruggmann's bead chronology constituted a major part of its basis. Cruciform brooches were also an integral part of the chronology, so it is of little use for dating them here due to the risk of circular argument. Nevertheless, correspondences between the chronologies are worth a brief outline for the benefit of future work. The major limitation of the East Anglian chronology is that it entirely excludes all brooches from the present phase A and features only two brooches from phase C. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, the two chronologies correspond; Penn and Bruggmann's phases FA1 and FA2a subdivide the present phase B, while phase FA2b approximately coincides with phase C. Penn and Bruggmann's typology

³⁴ A type 4.7.1 brooch is also the only cruciform brooch included in Hines and Bayliss' recent chronological study (2013, 569), which they date to their female phase A (2013, 410–11), at the end of the Migration Period sequence.

³⁵ A full discussion of this evidence is provided in Martin 2011, 128–35.

³⁶ Penn and Bruggmann 2007, 24, 42–71. Penn and Bruggmann's work and Bruggmann's bead chronology have been broadly appraised in Hines and Bayliss 2013.

of cruciform brooches was necessarily basic, consisting of just four groups: the present group 2, group 3 brooches with Style I, group 3 brooches without Style I (which have been shown above to have no necessary chronological implications) and group 4 brooches (which again show considerable chronological development within the group). Nevertheless, they were similarly able to draw some distinction between group 2 and 3 brooches, which they place in their phases FA1 and FA2 respectively. There was also an indication that group 3 brooches lacking Style I may in fact be slightly later than those featuring it. This observation is not borne out by the current chronology, largely because many group 3 brooches that lack Style I ornament frequently have lappets whose blank shapes are obviously derived from Style I motifs (see below, p. 157).

Kentish Cruciform Brooch Chronology

Unfortunately, the seven grave associations available for the Kentish series of cruciform brooches are too few and unreliably recorded for chronological analysis. Hence, the dating of Kentish cruciform brooches depends entirely on stylistic links with the primary series. However, even this basic method is not straightforward given the considerable variation among the Kentish series and their generally poor preservation. For instance, miniaturised versions of larger brooches from the principal series (i.e. sub-groups 2.2 and 3.4) seem to postdate the invention of their larger counterparts. These later, miniature brooches characteristically possess integrally cast side-knobs. Yet Kentish brooches, which are otherwise stylistically early, consistently possess these integrally cast side-knobs, with some even featuring tiny terminals on their feet as well, which are again typically later innovations of the principal series. Similarly, those stylistically earlier Kentish brooches also feature the notched head-plate and tabbed top-knob (see above, Figures 5.4, 5.9), not encountered in the principal series until group 2. It seems possible that these minor inventions emerged and ceased earlier among the Kentish brooches. Indeed, Schetelig observed a long time ago that integral side-knobs are seen earlier on Norwegian brooches than on the English ones.³⁷ Could this be an indication of a closer relationship between Scandinavia and Kent at this early stage? Furthermore, besides these isolated components, there is little further evidence for anything as stylistically evolved as even relatively primitive phase B brooches in Kent and their overall appearance is certainly early. Kentish group 1 brooches have their best parallels among those of group 1 in the principal series and this, albeit fragile evidence, dates them to phase A. Similar comparisons link Kentish group 2 with group 2 in the principal series, which accordingly provides a tentative date in phase B. Phase C is not represented anywhere in the Kentish series and it seems unlikely that many Kentish cruciform brooches extended even into the latter half of phase B. However, the dates of these few

³⁷ Schetelig 1906, 28–31.

items are probably better examined in the context of a local, Kentish chronology than the Anglian one.

Absolute Chronology I: Independently Datable Grave Associations

Although grave associations with cruciform brooches date many artefacts from eastern England, there are a few exceptions, largely of late Roman, continental or Scandinavian origin with independently assigned dates. However, some caution is necessary. Because such objects are rare, possibly inherited or imported objects, they potentially followed different norms of circulation and may have taken a much longer time to enter the archaeological record than the cruciform brooches they accompanied. Nevertheless some, though not all, of these objects offer evidence that is not only consistent with the above phasing, but also provide some first clues as to absolute dating.

At the very beginning of the series, the key dates are those of the Nydam brooches. These small, plain objects are the progenitors of the cruciform brooch series. As such, they still provide the first peg upon which the cruciform brooch chronology hangs. The only confirmed example of a Nydam brooch in England is from one of the graves at Dyke Hills, Dorchester on Thames.³⁸ It has therefore been the subject of considerable discussion.³⁹ The context of this find in a small group of graves, one of which contained late Roman military belt equipment, all near a substantial Roman town, together indicate a very late Roman, or potentially narrowly post-Roman, date somewhere in the late fourth or very early fifth century. These dates are addressed in more detail below, when the earliest dates of cruciform brooches in England are considered. Although technically the Nydam brooch from Dorchester precedes the cruciform brooch series, it was found associated with a zoomorphic buckle matched by one from Alveston Manor (grave 70), which was associated with a pair of early looking cruciform brooches (#193, #242).⁴⁰ The distinctive decorated buckles, belonging to Marzinzik's type II.1b, have a hoop formed by a pair of outward-facing horses.⁴¹ They have a wide distribution on late Romano-British sites, but they also occur in a small number of Anglo-Saxon graves.⁴² Hence, those from Anglo-Saxon contexts are likely to be fifth century and some, such as the one from Dorchester, could be even earlier. The cruciform brooches in the grave from Alveston Manor, however, technically belong to types 2.1.1 and 2.1.2, or phase B. Yet, their small size and very narrow head-plate wings ally them closely with group 1 brooches. They are exceptionally primitive for group 2 and therefore belong to the very earliest part of phase B, if

³⁸ However, there are a small number of fragmentary close relatives, see above p. 20.

³⁹ Schetelig 1906, 18; Åberg 1926, 12–13; Kirk and Leeds 1954, 72; Hawkes and Dunning 1961; Reichstein 1975, 92–4; Hawkes 1986, 69–71; Mortimer 1990, 143.

⁴⁰ These are illustrated in Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 48.

⁴¹ Marzinzik 2003, 17.

⁴² Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 49–50; Marzinzik 2003, 36, 395.

not the latter end of phase A. A date in the fifth century is therefore likely for this pair. A closely related variety of zoomorphic buckle formed by facing dolphin heads also occurs in association with a cruciform brooch in grave 23 at Bifrons (#1350).⁴³ This particular example is a devolved form of Marzinzik's type I.1a, another late Roman buckle, probably dating to the fifth century in Anglo-Saxon contexts. This grave also contained a late Roman copper-alloy knife handle featuring the hound and hare motif. The cruciform brooch with which it was found is of Kentish type 1.1, belonging to phase A, so a date in the fifth century also seems likely for this example.

The only other probable fifth-century material associated with cruciform brooches is a 'Saxon' equal-arm brooch of Böhme's type Nesse from grave 55 at Westgarth Gardens.⁴⁴ These probably northern German brooches have widely accepted dates in the later fifth century.⁴⁵ This is slightly problematic given that the cruciform brooch from this grave was unambiguously of type 2.2.2, supposedly belonging to a slightly later part of phase B. Penn and Brugmann date this grave to their earliest phase FA1, which ends at some point in the later fifth century, but they base this conclusion on their dating of cruciform brooches.⁴⁶ Although a late fifth-century date just about falls into the approximate lower range of a developed phase B brooch (see below, p. 123), this association with a probably earlier fifth-century equal-arm brooch is exceptional.

Among the most reliably datable objects to occur safely within phase B are the two Frankish radiate-headed brooches from grave 131 at Little Wilbraham, associated with a typical type 3.1.1 cruciform brooch (#601).⁴⁷ The radiate-headed brooches belong to Kühn's type 21, which Reichstein dated no more specifically than somewhere in the sixth century.⁴⁸ More recently, Alexander Koch has classified this type as I.3.3.4.2 (five-knobbed brooches with a rectangular and unexpanded foot, gridded head-plate and a zigzag decorated bow). From continental grave assemblages, Koch dates these broadly to the first half of the sixth century, with the majority occurring in the second quarter, or in the transition between Ament's phases I and II.⁴⁹ Although these radiate-headed brooches were probably imported and therefore may possibly have taken longer to reach the grave than the cruciform brooch with which they were associated, this establishes a relatively reliable date in the first half of the sixth century for a typical cruciform brooch with a use probably spanning a large part of phase B.

Shield-tongue buckles represent another predominantly continental or Kentish object occasionally found with cruciform brooches. There are two such co-occurrences

⁴³ Illustrated in Hawkes 2000, 20. See also Marzinzik 2003, 17–18.

⁴⁴ Illustrated in West 1988, 60.

⁴⁵ Evison 1977, 134; Böhme 1986, 542–51.

⁴⁶ Penn and Brugmann 2007, 58.

⁴⁷ This grave assemblage is illustrated in Reichstein 1975, Pl. 106.

⁴⁸ Kühn 1940, 200; Reichstein 1975, 94.

⁴⁹ Koch 1998, 114–16. For earlier discussion of this type and the Little Wilbraham grave, see Koch 1977, 48–9; Hines 1984, 26; Mortimer 1990, 146.

with a type 3.2.1 brooch from grave 57 at Sewerby (#710) and a type 4.3.1 brooch from grave 22 at Norton (#1194), both belonging to phase B.⁵⁰ Shield-tongue buckles date from the second half of the fifth century through to the sixth century on the continent.⁵¹ Although the equivalent English examples have sometimes been dated slightly later, there does not seem to be any evidence to support exclusively late dates for this type.⁵² Marzinzik attributes the example from Sewerby a relatively early date in the first half of the sixth century based on its continental parallels.⁵³ Welch dated the Norton example to the second half of the sixth century, but he based this on a relatively late and unsupported date for the associated cruciform brooch.⁵⁴ However, shield-tongue buckles are notably absent from Anglo-Saxon graves featuring unmistakably fifth-century material and their use on the continent extends through the sixth century. The example from Sewerby is stylistically early and therefore probably dates to the first half of the sixth century. These items therefore confirm the date suggested by the radiate-headed brooches: phase B extends at least from the later fifth century into the first half of the sixth century.

The final independently datable objects possess closer links with Scandinavia than the continent and they include bracteates, scutiform pendants and great square-headed brooches. Of these, bracteates offer the best opportunity for independent dating, although they offer just two coincidences with cruciform brooches. These include a type 3.2.3 brooch from grave 80 at Morning Thorpe (#763) and a type 4.7.1 brooch from an isolated burial at Longbridge (#1296), of phases B and C respectively.⁵⁵ The bracteates feature a highly abstracted human head and quadruped, which classifies them as C-bracteates, dated to AD 500–50 in England from their Scandinavian equivalents.⁵⁶ Although the C-bracteates and type 3.2.3 cruciform brooch from Morning Thorpe came from a double burial, the same individual appears to have worn all these items and both burials seem undisturbed. While it is prudent to exercise some caution when judging the contemporaneity of items from double burials, in this example the case for contemporaneity is strong. Not only is the bracteate from Longbridge quite an unusual

⁵⁰ Illustrated in Hirst 1985, 144–5 and Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 134.

⁵¹ Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, 71; see also Böhner 1958, 182–3.

⁵² The convoluted argument is typical of the dating of many less common Anglo-Saxon objects. It seems to originate in an account of a cemetery in Ramsgate (Millard, Jarman and Hawkes 1969, 16) based on dates from Böhner's (1958) chronology, from whence it was replicated by Hirst (1985, 86), cited by Timby (1996, 60) then finally reported in Marzinzik (2003, 19), who does in fact date a single example of this type to the later fifth century.

⁵³ Marzinzik 2003, 19.

⁵⁴ Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 39, 50. Welch consistently disagreed with Hines' relatively early dating of this material (e.g. Welch 1987). Welch's arguments have since been superseded by the weight of new evidence from advanced seriations and carbon dating (see Hines and Bayliss 2013).

⁵⁵ The Morning Thorpe brooch and bracteates are illustrated in Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 223–4. The Longbridge assemblage was published in Vierck 1970.

⁵⁶ On the classification of bracteates see Mackeprang 1952 and more recently Axboe 2004; 2007. On their dating in England see Hines 1984, 214; Axboe 2007, 75; Behr 2010, 38.

example, it is also highly worn, so its date of deposition may be at the latter end of the typical range given for this type. Morten Axboe attributed it a date somewhere in the range of AD 550–70.⁵⁷ This would accord with its grave-associated later phase C cruciform brooch.⁵⁸ The Morning Thorpe bracteates, because they possess peculiarly insular characteristics, not least the fact that they are copper alloy rather than gold, are much harder to date independently. Nevertheless, they have generally accepted dates in the first half of the sixth century.⁵⁹ Although this seems a likely date on stylistic grounds, it is debatable whether the cruciform brooch might actually provide more authoritative dating. Broadly then, the evidence from bracteates accords with the dates provided by the radiate brooches and shield-tongue buckles, placing relatively advanced phase B brooches in the first half of the sixth century, with phase C commencing toward the end of this range and continuing beyond it.

Like bracteates, silver scutiform pendants also have good parallels in Scandinavia. However, their relatively plain decoration renders them less datable. Scutiform pendant phasing in Scandinavia depends on their grave associations with bracteates, cruciform brooches and great square-headed brooches. Therefore, some care is required to avoid circular argument. Brugmann and Penn place scutiform pendants in their phase FA2 covering the period 525–50, but continuing into FAB. This latter phasing agrees with other studies suggesting dates for scutiform pendants continuing beyond the sixth century.⁶⁰ Predominantly, however, they seem to be a sixth-century type. They have a number of associations with cruciform brooches including examples from grave 46 at Cleatham (#737), graves 73 and 91 at Empingham II (#1259, #540), grave 80 at Morning Thorpe (#763, the same grave that contained the copper-alloy bracteates), grave 35 at Sewerby (#614) and grave 116 at Sleaford (#1228). These include both phase B (types 3.0.1, 3.1.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.3) and phase C (types 4.4.1 and 4.6.2) cruciform brooches, which corroborate with the broad sixth-century dates attributed from the Scandinavian and East Anglian evidence.

There are five recorded concurrences of cruciform and great square-headed brooches from grave 28 at Eriswell (#203), graves 40 (#553, #794) and 111 (#1005) at Little Wilbraham, and a grave from Tuddenham St Mary (#723).⁶¹ The cruciform brooches from these graves all belong to phase B, including types 2.1.1, 3.0.2, 3.2.1, 3.2.5 and 3.4.5. The great square-headed brooches belong to Hines'

⁵⁷ Axboe 2007, 75. See also Vierck 1970.

⁵⁸ Hines 1984, 214.

⁵⁹ Hines (1984, 214) dated them by the associated cruciform brooch. Penn and Brugmann (2007, 26) follow Gaimster's (1992, 9) dating, which was originally based on Hines', placing the grave in their phase FA2b. Due to their peculiarities, Axboe (2007, 75) declines to offer a specific date range.

⁶⁰ Geake 1997, 37; Penn and Brugmann 2007, 26.

⁶¹ The great square-headed brooches are illustrated in Hines 1997, Pl. 91 (Eriswell grave 28), Pl. 50 (Tuddenham), Pl. 34 (Little Wilbraham grave 40), Pl. 78 (Little Wilbraham grave 111). Their associated cruciform brooches are illustrated on Pls. 118 and 119 in the same volume.

phases 2 and 3, which date to AD 525–60/70.⁶² Once again, this places some phase B cruciform brooches in at least the second quarter of the sixth century. There is one slight discrepancy in the decidedly primitive type 2.1.1 cruciform brooch from Eriswell grave 28 associated with a great square-headed brooch from Hines' phase 2. This cruciform brooch, with its fully round top-knob, like the pair from Alveston Manor (above), appears to straddle the group 1 and 2 divide. Hence, it should belong safely to the later fifth century. The only plausible explanation, given all the evidence presented for the relative phasing above, is that the cruciform brooch from this grave was retained for longer than usual prior to its deposition.

This final example highlights the dangers of dating by isolated associations: objects from the same grave, though deposited simultaneously, are unlikely to have been obtained, let alone manufactured, at the same time. Some of these items, such as the cruciform brooch from grave 28 at Eriswell and the equal-arm brooch from grave 55 at Westgarth Gardens, could possibly have been heirloom objects. Even this explanation, however, is not entirely necessary. When we are talking about periods of approximately fifty years or less, a single individual's life span could potentially take us from one end of this to the other. Overall, however, the dates offered by these associations correspond well with the relative phasing, with phase A dated broadly to the fifth century, phase B from the later fifth up to about the mid-sixth century and phase C from at least the mid-sixth century onward.

Absolute Chronology II: Links with European Chronology

The chronology presented thus far has a basis in the stylistic development of English cruciform brooches and the independent dating of a small number of graves. While this provides a relatively reliable and independent foundation, links with broader chronologies that apply to whole areas of north-west Europe provide reinforcement. The crucial dates that will be used to bracket the three cruciform brooch phases are as follows:

- 1 c.355/65–405/415 for the use of Nydam brooches in north-west Europe, and a little later for their most advanced forms⁶³
- 2 c.450 for the origins of Style I in north-west Europe⁶⁴
- 3 c.525–50 for the end of the principal cruciform brooch series in Norway⁶⁵

⁶² Hines attributes dates from stylistic links with Norwegian examples, which in turn are dated by grave associations with Norwegian cruciform brooches. Again, the dates of these are derived from Reichstein's Scandinavian cruciform brooch chronology which, despite some amendments by Engevik (2008), remains relatively reliable and operates independently from his less reliable English cruciform brooch chronology.

⁶³ Bemman 1993, 158–9, 173; Rau 2010, 168.

⁶⁴ Haseloff 1974, 14; 1981, 17, 170–3; Kristoffersen and Magnus 2010, 77.

⁶⁵ Bakka 1973, 61, 85; Kristoffersen 1999, 95; Engevik 2008, 127.

4 c.560/570 for the end of the Migration Period in Anglo-Saxon England.⁶⁶

These dates will be justified and their significance explained as they become relevant in the discussion below.

English cruciform brooches have always been dated by their relationship with Norwegian and continental chronologies. John Hines has explored the interface between early Anglo-Saxon and overseas chronologies in some detail elsewhere and it is the purpose of this account to neither reconsider nor recount this complex account.⁶⁷ In sum, the relationship between Reichstein's chronology of cruciform brooches and Egil Bakka's seriation of Norwegian grave assemblages into four phases is especially important because it provides a further link into Hermann Ament's coin-dated Merovingian phases.⁶⁸ However, because the present work supersedes Reichstein's English typology and chronology, realigning the new phases with Reichstein's English *ältere* ('older'), *jüngere* ('younger'), *späte* ('late') and *späteste* ('latest') phases would be a laborious task. It would only act to complicate and attenuate the reliability of the present analysis. Besides, Reichstein's chronology was never an efficient or reliable treatment of English cruciform brooch chronology. It focused only on the earlier types that are very sparse in England (*ältere* and *jüngere*, broadly the present phase A) and bundled the majority of English forms into two later phases (*späte* and *späteste*) for which Reichstein did not possess sufficient evidence to make any reliable distinction.⁶⁹ Finally, Reichstein's typology excluded group 4 and hence phase C entirely. As Table 11 shows, while the group 1 types have direct parallels with Reichstein's types, group 2 and 3 types barely accord at all. Reichstein's greater interest in the earlier period led to the delineation of numerous types within the present type 2.1.2, leaving just two types (Reichstein's types Little Wilbraham and Nassington) to stand for the actually far more diverse and numerous group 3 forms. Because Reichstein did not explicitly link his chronology with Bakka's phases, connections between Reichstein's chronology and wider, more reliable Norwegian phasing has been piecemeal, largely because a comprehensive classification system for English cruciform brooches has not been widely available until now. It will be far simpler to date the English cruciform brooch series by those four key dates already listed. Because these dates have all been widely discussed and have cultural significance beyond the otherwise occasionally abstruse chronology of the fifth and sixth centuries, using these dates encourages wider debate than is permitted by a complex, highly specialist discussion of stylistic parallels. This will also permit future alterations of the present absolute chronology of cruciform brooches, should any of these key dates be reconsidered.

⁶⁶ Hines 1999a, 65; Hines and Bayliss 2013.

⁶⁷ See Hines 1984, 16–32; 1993, 2–3; 1997, 225–34; 1999a, 74–6. See also Welch 1987; 1991; 1999.

⁶⁸ Bakka 1973; Ament 1976.

⁶⁹ Reichstein 1975, 90. See also above, note 9.

Table 11. Correspondence between Reichstein's and the present author's typology and chronology.

<i>Reichstein's Phase</i>	<i>Reichstein's English types</i>	<i>Closest equivalents</i>	<i>Present phase</i>
<i>ältere</i>	Dorchester	Nydam	Nydam
	Pritzier	1.1.1	A
	Witmarsum	1.1.2	A
<i>jüngere</i>	Gross Siemss	1.2.1	A
	Perdöhl	1.1.1	A
<i>späte</i>	Hooebeintum	1.1.2	A
	Midlum	1.2.2/2.1.1/2.1.3/2.2.2	A/B
	Achlum	2.1.4/2.2.3	B
	Krefeld-Gellep	2.1.4	B
	Stratford	2.1.1/2.1.2/2.2.2	B
	Corbridge	2.1.2	B
	West Stow Heath	2.1.2/3.0.2	B
	Bradwell	Hybrid small long	/
	Holywell Row	2.1.4/3.2.4	B
	Barrington	Hybrid small long	/
	Lyminge	2.2.3/2.2.4	B
<i>späteste</i>	Little Wilbraham	3.1.1	B
	Feering	Hybrid small long	/
	Islip	2.1.2/2.1.3	B
	Nassington	3.3.1	B

Despite the difficulties with Reichstein's phases, because his treatment of the earliest examples was comprehensive, some obvious relationships between English group 1 and 2 brooches are worthy of some clarification. The presentation of these very similar English, German and Scandinavian brooches as broadly contemporary does not pose any immediate problems. These examples fall largely into Reichstein's earliest two phases, namely *ältere* and *jüngere*. As far as the English series is concerned, the only items that fall into the earliest *ältere* phase include Reichstein's types Dorchester, Pritzier and Witmarsum. Type Dorchester includes only Nydam brooches, presently excluded from the cruciform brooch series.⁷⁰ Types Pritzier and Witmarsum, however, belong safely to the cruciform

⁷⁰ Some members of Reichstein's type Dorchester, given the presence of head-plates, albeit small ones, might actually be better classified as part of the cruciform brooch series (see Reichstein 1975, Pl. 75).

brooch series and find direct parallels among phase A types 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 (see Table 11). Reichstein's *jüngere* types Gross Siemß and Perdöhl accord best with types 1.2.1 and, again, 1.1.1 respectively. The fact that type 1.1.1 cuts across Reichstein's *ältere* and *jüngere* phases, echoes the suggestion above (pp. 24, 111) that it displays considerable internal variation and probably spans all of phase A. The fact that type 1.1.2 has parallels only among Reichstein's *ältere* cruciform brooches, suggests it belongs to an earlier part of phase A. Because type 1.2.1 accords only with Reichstein's *jüngere* types, perhaps it belongs to a second part of phase A. Although a number of Reichstein's *ältere* types compare very well to most group 1 brooches, a few type 1.2.2 brooches fall into Reichstein's *späte* types Midlum and Hooebeintum. Neither of these types accords particularly closely with the present typology. Contrary to Reichstein's phasing, the above seriations demonstrate that all group 1 brooches, including type 1.2.2, occur in comparable contexts. Hence, although some type 1.2.2 brooches clearly belong on the cusp of phases A and B, most members can be safely dated to phase A, or Reichstein's *ältere* and *jüngere* phases.

The critical date for these earliest items depends upon the transition between Nydam and cruciform brooches. This stylistic development is in itself a generally accepted marker for the commencing of the Migration Period in north-west Europe and has therefore seen considerable discussion.⁷¹ By now, however, the generally accepted dates for Nydam brooches lie between the second half of the fourth century and the early fifth, with the most recent estimate being AD 355/65–405/15 and a little later for variant 6, which continued into the second quarter of the fifth century.⁷² Although find-combinations of Nydam and cruciform brooches are very rare indeed, there are a small number of examples among the latest Nydam brooches (Bemmann and Rau's variant 6) and the earliest cruciform brooches.⁷³ Therefore, the earliest cruciform brooches were at least partly contemporary with Nydam brooches and their origins probably lie at some point in the earlier fifth century. Given that Nydam brooches were widespread in northern Germany by the late fourth century and may even have reached Britain in smaller numbers (e.g. at Dorchester), it seems reasonable to expect some cruciform brooches occurring shortly after 420 AD in England. During this early period, we might expect only the presence of type 1.1.2 and the most primitive members of 1.1.1. As an approximate estimate, types 1.2.1 then 1.2.2 probably followed around the mid-fifth century, in line with Reichstein's absolute dating of his *jüngere* phase, or perhaps even a little earlier (AD 450–75).

Phase A closed with the opening of phase B. At this point, although close similarities with overseas parallels decrease substantially, broad stylistic links

⁷¹ Schetelig 1906, 152; Stjernquist 1961; Reichstein 1975, 92–4; Lund Hansen 1970; Slomann 1977; Bemmann 1993, 158–9; Kristoffersen 1999, 95; Engevik 2008, 20–1; Rau 2010, 164–8; Hills and Lucy 2013, 31.

⁷² Rau 2010, 168.

⁷³ Bemmann 1993, 167.

between England, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden persist. One of the closest connections lies between the early phase B type 2.1.3 and Reichstein's largely Swedish type Götene. Reichstein dates this type by its grave-association with a Norwegian *späte* brooch, attributed this date by his seriation of Norwegian graves.⁷⁴ This, along with more general and widespread stylistic similarities between group 2 cruciform brooches and Norwegian *späte* brooches, links a large number group 2 phase B brooches into Bakka's phase VWZ III, c. AD 475–525. However, given that type 2.1.3 belongs to an early part of phase B, we can probably assign a slightly earlier date range of c. AD 475–500.

Subsequent to these links between group 2 and Scandinavian brooches, overseas connections become more obscure. Even so, there are some useful approximate stylistic similarities between the English and Norwegian material. For instance, links between group 3 and Norwegian brooches with lappets, Style I top-knobs and generally larger and more elaborate forms suggest broad contemporaneity. On the fragile basis of the associated radiate-headed brooches and a type 3.1.1 brooch in Little Wilbraham grave 131, Reichstein assigns all these features on English brooches to his *späteste* phase, not accepting that many of them may have occurred much earlier, simultaneous with their appearance on Norwegian *späte* brooches. According to Reichstein, the *späteste* phase only applied to English brooches, as he envisaged Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches surviving when they had gone out of use overseas. This remains largely true, although Engevik has recently challenged this idea with a small number of brooches from the Hordaland region of Norway (type Draugsvol), which occurred in grave combinations with later bucket shaped-pots of a specific variety.⁷⁵ However, Reichstein argued that his English *späteste* brooches were later than their closest Norwegian equivalents, which he assigned to the slightly earlier *späte* phase (see Table 11). Hence, there was an implicit assumption that a 25–50 year lag existed between Norway and England for the arrival of these advanced features. Given the overall cultural similarity of these regions, such a delay, or even the presumption that the innovation occurred first in Norway, seems unnecessary. It is rather more probable that these stylistic innovations occurred in parallel. This permits some group 3 and even some group 4 phase B brooches to belong to the later fifth century, just like their closest Norwegian equivalents.

The recognition that groups 2 and 3, along with some members of group 4, were broadly contemporary facilitates a much simpler solution to the absolute dates of phase B brooches based instead on the emergence of Style I in north-west Europe. Haseloff's approximate date of c. 475 for this has altered little since it was suggested it more than thirty-five years ago and it seems unlikely to change

⁷⁴ Reichstein 1975, 74.

⁷⁵ These pots have complex stamped beading and occasionally interlace, see Engevik 2008, 126 and also Kristoffersen 1999, 98.

drastically.⁷⁶ Most recently, using an analysis of find combinations with bucket-shaped pots in Norway, Siv Kristoffersen and Bente Magnus have pushed this date back a little earlier to AD 450.⁷⁷ Though we might expect a small delay for its transferral onto cruciform brooches, this need not have taken as long as has often been presumed. Group 2 brooches almost as a rule do not feature Style I. However, as the relative phasing outlined above suggested, these brooches became less popular through phase B, while the popularity of group 3 brooches seems to have gradually increased. Nonetheless, many were broadly contemporary. This means that the Style I seen on group 4 brooches and even some members of group 3 may have occurred as early as the second half of the fifth century, shortly after, or indeed as an integral part of, the introduction and spread of Style I in England. This is a privilege generally afforded only to a small number of the so-called Jutlandic square-headed brooch group found in Kent.⁷⁸ However, while it still seems unlikely that cruciform brooches were the very first Anglo-Saxon objects to feature Style I, there is no good reason to expect the fifty-year lag implied by Reichstein's chronology between the Jutlandic square-headed brooches and cruciform brooches featuring similar motifs which, thanks to Kristoffersen and Magnus's dating, would now be more like seventy-five years. In summary, phase B cruciform brooches probably commenced at some point around AD 475, or even slightly before, with a surge of rapidly evolving forms, initially perhaps dominated by group 2 brooches, which were gradually superseded by group 3 and group 4 brooches.

The opening of phase C, the final and probably brief flourish of cruciform brooches, defines the end of phase B, albeit with considerable overlap. At this point, overseas stylistic parallels ceased entirely, which strongly suggests cruciform brooches had virtually gone out of use elsewhere. These final, flat and exclusively bichrome cruciform brooches find no parallels whatsoever among Norwegian cruciform brooches, although similarities to the latest forms of Norwegian relief brooch (and Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooch) are discernible.⁷⁹ Perhaps the persistence of cruciform brooches in England was due to their becoming akin to the flatter, broader relief or square-headed brooches. The latest Norwegian cruciform brooches do not share these similarities and never tended toward such flat forms and in so doing, perhaps sealed their fate. Kristoffersen defines a phase in the Norwegian material where cruciform brooches cease but relief brooches of Nissen Meyer's stadia 5 and 6 continue, alongside relief brooches with spatulate

⁷⁶ Haseloff 1974, 14; 1981, 17, 170–3; Kristoffersen 1999, 95; Engevik 2008, 22; Høiland Nielsen 2009, 82–3.

⁷⁷ Kristoffersen and Magnus 2010, 77. But see also Näsman 1984 and Rau 2010, 96–109. For a full discussion see Hines and Bayliss 2013, 239–40.

⁷⁸ Haseloff 1974, 11–15.

⁷⁹ The similarities between Norwegian and English square-headed brooches series described by Hines 1997, 133 are in fact echoed in the phase C cruciform brooches, including an emphasis on field defined by colour (silver or gold) rather than chip-carving and a tendency toward the geometrisation of zoomorphic forms.

feet, small equal-arm brooches and bucket-shaped pots.⁸⁰ Her phase system is based on Straume's division into phases D1 and D2, defined by Nydam Style and Style I respectively, with a boundary at c. AD 475.⁸¹ Kristoffersen, however, suggested dividing phase D2 into D2a, in which cruciform brooches occur, and D2b, in which they do not, giving the start of the latter phase a date of c. AD 550, based largely on the much earlier work of Schetelig.⁸² However, the distinction between the presence and absence of cruciform brooches also constitutes the boundary between Bakka's phases III and IV, the former featuring the latest Norwegian cruciform brooches and for which the boundary lies somewhere around AD 525.⁸³ Engevik similarly agrees that, with the exception of type Draugsvoll, which persisted into phase D2b in an isolated area in Hordaland, the Norwegian cruciform brooch series ends around AD 520/30.⁸⁴ Hence, Schetelig's and Kristoffersen's date of AD 550 for the start of phase D2b can be pushed back slightly, to somewhere around AD 525. Because phase C in England seems to coincide with the end of cruciform brooches in Norway, this provides a suitable approximate date for the end of phase B, with perhaps an overlap up to about AD 550. Indeed, once phase B was over in England, cruciform brooches became a much less common phenomenon, limited to very few, if very large and ostentatious forms. This demise is mirrored on both sides of the North Sea. While a few more forms were produced during phase C in England, the cruciform brooch underwent virtual extinction in Norway.

The most open-ended question of the whole chronology is how late into the sixth century phase C continued. Because furnished female inhumation became extremely rare toward the end of the sixth century, and those few furnished burials never contain this typically sixth-century material, terminal dates are very difficult to estimate. Phase C contains relatively few brooches of a narrow stylistic range, so we should not expect this period to be very long, perhaps one or two generations at the most. Whatever the precise range, there is no evidence to suggest it continued into the seventh century. The latest phase C brooches probably found their way into graves during the last half of the sixth century. Current knowledge suggests this major transition out of the Migration Period occurred sometime after AD 560, a date originally suggested by the work of Arrhenius who proposed the start of the Vendel Period in Sweden at around this date, alongside abrupt changes in much of the material culture and burial practices of north-west Europe.⁸⁵ The date is also partly dependent on the ousting

⁸⁰ Nissen Meyer 1934; Kristoffersen 1999; 2000. This is the same period in which Engevik identifies exceptionally late cruciform brooches of type Draugsvoll.

⁸¹ Straume 1987.

⁸² Kristoffersen 1999, 95. See also Hines 1984, 23–4.

⁸³ Bakka 1973, 61; Hines 1984, 28. Notably, this absolute date coincides approximately with Penn and Bruggmann's (2007, 58) transition to their terminal phase FB or Bruggmann's bead phase A2b.

⁸⁴ Engevik 2008, 127.

⁸⁵ Arrhenius 1983.

of Style I by Style II, which coincides with this period.⁸⁶ The presence of Style II by this date would help to explain the devolved Style I typical of type 4.7.1 brooches and its tendency toward geometricisation. Some interlaced decoration is also very occasionally present on cruciform brooches of this latest phase, most obviously on a type 4.7.1 brooch from Market Overton, Rutland (#1298).⁸⁷ Hines and Bayliss have recently confirmed AD 560/70 as a suitable date for the end of the Migration Period in Anglo-Saxon England using advanced artefact seriations combined with radiocarbon dates and Bayesian statistics.⁸⁸ We might therefore see the invention of some of the earliest members of phase C, such as sub-groups 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 around AD 525, with the more devolved, largest and typical members of type 4.7.1 arising around AD 550, being probably representative of only a single generation, with their last members entering graves around AD 560/70 or perhaps slightly later.⁸⁹

Summary and Evaluation

Three separate seriations based on combinations of design components, grave-associated cruciform brooches and other grave-associated dress ornaments have together demonstrated the existence of three major phases of cruciform brooches. The first seriation revealed a major intermediate period full of complex stylistic interrelationships between brooches of groups 2 and 3, bracketed on either side by periods of conservative design, including an earlier, simpler period containing group 1 and a more complex, if even more consistently designed, later period containing largely group 4 brooches. A gradual line of development was, however, traceable from group 1 through to group 4, with most group 2 forms obviously preceding group 3. The second seriation of grave-associated cruciform brooches indicated something very similar. That is, a major intermediate phase during which brooches of groups 2 and 3 were regularly worn as part of the same costume, flanked by an earlier and later phase when wearing cruciform brooches in pairs was still common, but combining multiple cruciform brooch types on the same costume was very rare. The reasons for this will become clearer in Chapter 5, when we will consider the chronology of costume and cruciform brooches in terms of function. Despite this apparently clear separation of three phases, it was once again possible to identify some chronological development within the intermediate one, though drawing any delineation within it proved difficult. The third and final seriation of grave assemblages similarly demonstrated a clear

⁸⁶ France-Lanord and Fleuri 1962; Ørsnes 1966; Bakka 1973; Haseloff 1981, 540–673; Hines 1984, 30–2.

⁸⁷ The brooch is now stolen. However, photos survive in Rutland County Museum and an illustration was published in Crowther-Beynon and Leeds 1911, Pl. 71 (number 6).

⁸⁸ Hines 1999a; Hines and Bayliss 2013.

⁸⁹ If indeed these brooches can be dated purely on the basis of the degeneration of their Style I, then some members of type 4.3.2 from the far north must surely also join them.

separation for group 1 from the rest of the series, due to its altogether rare occurrences in inhumation contexts. This analysis, however, showed almost indivisible continuity from group 2 through to the latest group 4 types, demonstrating that they were all part of the same chronological trends in costume ensembles. From these analyses, it became clear that group 1 cruciform brooches constituted a relatively discrete phase A, while group 2 and 3 brooches belonged to an intermediate phase B with considerable internal development. The first half of group 4 also seemed to belong to the latter phase, with those final group 4 brooches belonging to a relatively discrete phase C.

Table 12 presents a summary of the absolute chronology, along with its approximate correspondence with some major European chronological systems. This permits an approximate and partly speculative sketch of cruciform brooch development in England. Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches originated as a relatively rare dress item, at some point in the first quarter of the fifth century, when the region in question was far more post-Roman than it was Anglo-Saxon. There would have been a very fine line between the first type 1.1.1 cruciform brooches and the preceding Nydam brooches. Any delineation between these is far more of a methodological necessity than something that was actually observed at the time. Shortly after this development, production of type 1.1.2, the first to feature a zoomorphic terminal, commenced and probably continued up to about AD 450. Toward the tail end of this production, cruciform brooches underwent some refinement and/or enlargement in the form of types 1.2.1 and 1.2.2, which were relatively frequently deposited in cremation burials. By about AD 475, a host of group 2 brooches were emerging, all of the broadly similar 2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.3 varieties, with perhaps type 2.1.3 undergoing only a brief, early period of production and some members of type 2.1.1 perhaps being produced shortly before this, contemporary with type 1.2.2. Rapidly, the spiral nostril form became popular, with types such as 2.1.4 and 3.2.4 probably among its earliest examples. At some point in this last quarter of the fifth century, Style I became a frequent feature of cruciform brooches, whose group 3 and 4 forms expanded laterally in order to accommodate it. The predominant types 3.1.1, 3.2.1 and 3.2.3 as well as perhaps some early group 4 brooches including type 4.1.1, probably emerged around this time and perhaps continued in production until the closing of phase B around the mid-sixth century. At some point later in phase B, perhaps around the turn of the century, miniaturised versions of larger brooches commenced production, with sub-groups 2.2 and 3.4 rapidly becoming very popular. Around this time, or perhaps slightly later, many of the less populous and regionally specific group 3 brooch types emerged, including, for instance, types 3.1.2, 3.2.2, 3.2.5, 3.2.6, 3.2.7, 3.2.8, 3.2.9 and 3.2.10 as well as the earlier group 4 types, such as 4.2.1 and 4.3.1 and their closely related forms, alongside a trend toward increased anthropomorphism on cruciform brooches. During this period, the popularity of group 2 brooches declined, though a few almost certainly persisted. This broad period, which probably lies around the later fifth and earlier sixth centuries, is

therefore of the utmost importance as it saw the cruciform brooch becoming a highly popular dress ornament firmly established in eastern England from East Anglia to the north, though not yet in the west. Shortly following this, perhaps around AD 525, phase C brooches commenced production, spreading westward and showing the first signs of realignment with the great square-headed brooch series. Although bichrome decoration was almost certainly in use before this date, cruciform brooches of this phase consistently bore gold and silver decoration. The first types to emerge probably included 4.4.1, 4.5.1, 4.6.1 and 4.6.2, with 4.7.1 and the great square-headed brooch hybrid type 4.7.2 commencing production at some point around AD 550. These final cruciform brooches were far fewer, larger and more elaborate, indicative of a more exclusive product. This final flourish was short-lived and is unlikely to have extended much beyond AD 560/70 when the period of traditionally furnished burial ceased and nearly all material culture types underwent massive upheaval amidst major socio-political change in Europe.

Although the specifics of this sketched narrative are speculative and based more on typological estimation than objective evidence, the basic picture of a gradually escalating then fading tradition finds sufficient support in the analyses presented above. It is not easy to fulfil the expectation of a high-resolution chronology of this material. Chronologies of this nature cannot be presented with absolute confidence because typological development is likely to be far less linear than its mode of presentation necessitates. Additionally, all this material probably took slightly different lengths of time to reach the grave. The phases presented here only really provide an approximation of how the cruciform brooch developed and over what kind of a length of time. The major problem is the difference between dates of production and deposition. Heirlooms aside, a single individual could feasibly have owned a brooch for over fifty years, which is immediately sufficient to carry an object across the suggested phases. While the phasing of brooches in the seriation of design components is more indicative of a chronology of production, seriation of grave assemblages concerns only their dates of deposition. Nevertheless, it is possible to alleviate these problems by confronting them with a substantial sample and three separate kinds of seriation. Overall, the results corroborate surprisingly well. The only major frustration is a failure to distinguish between so many types in phase B. It seems intuitive that many members of group 2 emerged before group 3, but when it comes to the evidence from graves, which is after all a more reliable technique than typological estimation, there is insufficient evidence to make this distinction with confidence. Though this goes against some more optimistic accounts of cruciform brooch chronology, it is a true and fair reflection of the difficult evidence. The implication is that phase B witnessed a massive increase in cruciform brooch production, with a high variety of forms in simultaneous circulation, all drawing from the same pool of design components and worn as part of broadly similar costumes. This in itself offers an adequate basis for the social interpretations to which this book is

Table 12. Final relative and absolute dates of cruciform brooch sub-groups and their approximate relation to pre-existing European chronology.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Cruciform brooch phase</i>	<i>Cruciform brooch sub-groups</i>	<i>Kristoffersen 1999</i>	<i>Bakka 1973</i>	<i>Reichstein 1975</i>	<i>Styles</i>
420–475	A	1.1; 1.2	D1	VWZ I–II	<i>ältere/ jüngere</i>	Nydam
475–550	B	2.1; 2.2; 3.0; 3.1; 3.2; 3.3; 3.4; 4.1; 4.2; 4.3	D2a	VWZ III	<i>späte/ spätteste</i>	Style I
525–560/70	C	4.4; 4.5; 4.6; 4.7	D2b	VWZ IV		

dedicated. Any chronological distinction between phase B brooches merely provides narrative detail. It seems that the majority of these forms emerged almost simultaneously in a major creative surge, occurring toward the end of the fifth century. The fact that this occurred broadly simultaneously with the emergence of Style I and substantial growth in the popularity of the furnished inhumation rite was surely no coincidence and provides a highly intriguing set of factors for further exploration, as does the final flourish of phase C cruciform brooches on the eve of some major social and political upheavals in north-west Europe.

Cycles of Exchange and Production

An holistic understanding of cruciform brooch production must go beyond a technical explanation of casting processes and raw materials. From an interpretative perspective, production involves a number of physical, mental and social processes. Craft production is also, inevitably, part of wider exchange relationships. Here, I will accentuate the cyclical nature of both production and exchange in order to emphasise their reiterative, perpetual and socially reproductive functions. The idea of repetitive action is also necessary to understand how cruciform brooches operated as material symbols, how they came to stand for something other than themselves and how they consequently became valuable items. Just as exchange describes relationships between people facilitated by objects, the production of a type series describes relationships between objects drawn by people. Hence new and stylistically advanced members of an object class must to some extent replicate older, pre-existing forms to remain intelligible and authentic. The dynamic nature of these relationships, both between people and between objects, illustrates how the meaning of cruciform brooches was not a fixed, inherent value, but an adaptable network of relationships drawn between members of the social and material worlds. My investigation of the social meanings of cruciform brooches begins here with an exploration of these cyclical, reiterative processes, primarily because they get at the underlying foundation of what a cruciform brooch actually *was* in early Anglo-Saxon society, while Chapters 5 and 6 will explore what cruciform brooches *did* in both practical and social terms. Perhaps counter-intuitively, I am going to start by discussing exchange before moving on to production, as it sets the social context for the rest of the discussion. The principal question I set out to answer in this chapter is concerned with how cruciform brooches, inflated to the extent that they were no longer especially practical, became valuable and meaningful objects both in terms of individual items and as a type series taken as a whole.

Crafting in Anglo-Saxon Society

There are major debates concerning the nature of craft production in the fifth and sixth centuries, largely regarding the extent to which craftspeople were itinerant or associated with specific settlements, patrons or production sites.¹ The absence of much evidence for stable, intensive metalworking from any one site, despite the many settlements now excavated, indicates the former, although the discovery of a single early workshop would change the picture considerably. Though unique, Helgö in southern Sweden and its excess of ten thousand mould fragments indicate that not all metalworking in this period occurred on a peripatetic scale.² Less intensive evidence of metalworking from broadly contemporary high-status sites elsewhere in Britain, such as Dinas Powys in the west and the Mote of Mark in the north, also indicate associations of craftspeople with particular high-status groups.³ Evidence for metalworking at the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon site of Yeavinger indicates something similar, although the burial of a seventh-century smith in an apparently isolated position at Tattershall Thorpe may suggest marginalisation.⁴ However, the lack of direct evidence from the fifth and sixth centuries for either side of the argument remains deeply problematic.

The lack of much evidence for metalworking from Anglo-Saxon England makes reliance on less direct sources and the borrowing of models from social anthropology a necessity. For instance, the regional characters of some cruciform brooch types explained in Chapter 2 suggest that if Anglo-Saxon jewellers were itinerant, they had restricted ranges. The obvious stylistic similarities between cruciform brooches from even more localised areas, such as the Lark Valley for instance, or even from specific cemeteries, indicate restriction to just a handful of settlements, perhaps even the work of individual smiths or a single, traceable workshop tradition. Therefore, although it appeals to our romantic sense of the period, an entirely independent, roving smith, carrying with them the sum of their tools and supplies, presents an unlikely prospect. While a degree of ambiguity and mysticism probably coloured the social status of metalworkers, as is evident in the later myths of the lone, if powerfully vengeful, smith Wayland, we should see these skilled individuals as integral to the production and reproduction not only of material forms, but also of the social institutions that their products embodied.⁵ Wayland, after all, was a mythic device, not an actuality. Actual craftspeople should not be seen as somehow separate from early Anglo-Saxon society, but integral to it. Even if craftspeople did not have single, stable workshops, it is very difficult to imagine jewellery-makers plying their trade without any form

¹ Hinton 2000; 2003; 2005, 36; Leahy 2003, 167–73; Wright 2010.

² See most recently Arrhenius and O'Meadhra 2011.

³ Alcock 1963; Laing and Longley 2006.

⁴ For Yeavinger see Tinniswood and Harding 1991; Wright 2010, 133. For Tattershall Thorpe see Hinton and White 1993; Hinton 2000.

⁵ Barndon 2006; Hedeager 2011, 140–4.

of patronage, chiefly because their products would lack social value.⁶ Although these items served a practical function, their elaboration obviously exceeded it. Cruciform brooches were more to do with prestige and identity than keeping clothes on. Hence, their value did not reside in any inherent economic worth or practical necessity, but in a desire to demonstrate conspicuous, material links to a dominant elite class. Alienable material wealth is hardly likely to have been nascent even with the later rise of currency and trading sites in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, when wealth still seems to have arisen from associations with elites and central places.⁷ Wealth, value and power arise instead from inalienable and demonstrable associations with powerful individuals through exchanged and conspicuously consumed goods, among which cruciform brooches may have been prime examples.⁸ Indeed, powerful individuals maintain their prestige at least partly through an ability to redistribute such items. Constructing brooches therefore demonstrates not only technical skill, but also an ability to harness a form of elite transcendence into a material form.⁹ While something of the skilled craftsperson inheres in the product, something of the patron who gifts the object similarly imbues it with value. It is this essence, this materially palpable link with craftspeople of skill and patrons of renown, which endows an object with inalienable value and its owner with power. These links between people and objects even go toward the structuring of society itself in terms of dominance strategies. As Chris Gosden neatly summarises the anthropological work of Marilyn Strathern (based on Melanesian gift exchange): 'Domination in gift economies is by those who determine the connections made by objects and the sets of symbolic conventions connecting people and things.'¹⁰ In the later sixth and seventh centuries, when richer evidence for craft production arises in England and abroad, it has obvious associations with elite, central places.¹¹ Of course, in fifth- and sixth-century Anglo-Saxon society, where power was probably considerably less centralised, the role of the patron is not indispensable. Neither do we have to imagine that these craftspeople worked only for single, powerful patrons. But if we exclude forms of patronage altogether, however temporary or permanent that relationship may have been, a powerful social status must then be afforded to craftspeople on their own merit. Though possible, this seems unlikely. Otherwise,

⁶ Indeed, Lotte Hedeager (1992, 234–5; 2011, 137–63) has even made convincing arguments that elite patrons in northern Europe contributed not only social value to craft products, but also divine power.

⁷ Hodges 1989; Theuvs 2004.

⁸ The general theoretical approach that I draw on here originates in Marxist archaeologies, for instance, see Spriggs 1984 and also Moreland 2010, 89–90, which in turn owe much to the work of Marcel Mauss' work on gift exchange; see Mauss 2002 (first published 1925) and also Sahlin 1974.

⁹ For the social anthropology that forms the background of the ensuing discussion, see primarily Weiner 1992; Helms 1993; Godelier 1999.

¹⁰ Gosden 1999, 136 after Strathern 1988.

¹¹ E.g. at Yeavering in England, Dinas Powys in Wales, Mote of Mark in Scotland, Gudme in Denmark and Helgö in Sweden.

how else are these large, impractical objects becoming desirable possessions? And according to what kind of transaction? In the account that follows, I use the term 'patron' in a somewhat unspecific manner, but I will return to the nature of these powerful individuals in the following chapter.

Therefore, the significant value of a cruciform brooch did not exist in the object itself as a measurable quantity of bronze, gold or silver, for instance, but was dispersed or intersubjective and existed between producers, givers and receivers. As such, the value of cruciform brooches depended on the perspective of the social agent. The craftsperson, for instance, experienced value in their product as a means of demonstrating proficiency, spreading their reputation and remaining in the employ of a patron. A patron valued cruciform brooches as a redistributable resource for recruiting informal subjects. Patrons were also, of course, in competition with each other on an inter-regional and perhaps even international scale, which helps explain the coherent style of cruciform brooches throughout England and their resemblance to those from across the North Sea. Finally, consumers saw value in cruciform brooches for their ability to demonstrate conspicuous associations with elite patrons and skilled craftspeople among their peers. These competitive interests and cycles of exchange created the social potential of cruciform brooches and a creative cultural impetus that guaranteed their evident success as material symbols. Summarily, cruciform brooches have the potential to tell us much more about early Anglo-Saxon society than just the status of those who wore them. Indeed, we cannot understand this status without reference to these processes. By the same token, we cannot hope to understand Anglo-Saxon society without reference to the objects that bound it together.

Repair, Customisation and Use-Adaptation

Relatively high rates of repair and adaptation among cruciform brooches demonstrate that they were not especially revered items and were certainly not made specifically for the funeral, but were worn and handled regularly, probably on a daily basis. Despite this mundane nature of their usage, high rates of breakage indicate that functionality was not foremost in cruciform brooch design. Accordingly, women did not wear these objects out of daily, practical necessity, but presumably because wearing a cruciform brooch was an important, if not crucial, part of their social identity. Breakage and repair also indicate that wearers of cruciform brooches retained them for long durations, decades perhaps. Although there is no reliable way of quantifying these lengths of time, repairs and wear suggest that cruciform brooches had a limited availability, each example being of considerable and unique importance.¹² Physical adaptations therefore constitute

¹² Some, however, have taken rates of wear and repair into chronological consideration, including Leeds 1941; Magnus 1980; Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 38; Hines 1997, 237; Parfitt and Bruggmann 1997, 48–9.

an excellent source of information pertaining not only to the biographies of these individuals, but also to the 'cultural biographies' of cruciform brooches themselves.¹³ They were not lightly lost or replaced and perhaps this was due to the processes of gift exchange outlined above, which created and sustained their value. Additionally, cruciform brooches probably accumulated further inalienable and personal associations through daily, reiterative dressed performance, their proximity to the body making them an increasingly intimate and inseparable part of that individual. Because cruciform brooches accumulated meaning and value from lived, social experience as well as the perceived qualities of their raw materials, it should come as no surprise that they were generally repaired rather than recycled.

I define three categories of post-manufacture adaptation: 'repair', 'customisation' and 'use-adaptation'.¹⁴ Repair, defined as physical adaptations that restore a broken brooch to its previous form or function, is by far the most common. Repair can therefore be either aesthetic (e.g. the reattachment of a terminal) or functional (e.g. the restoration of a catch or the rejoining of a severed bow). Customisation is always aesthetic, or at least unrelated to dress-fastening functions. Examples include the inscription of runes on the reverse of a brooch or perforations drilled for the suspension of other objects from the terminal. Use-adaptations relate to function, constituting transformations of brooches into pendants or strap-ends, for instance. In the whole sample of 2,075 brooches and fragments, there are 151 instances of repair, seven instances of use-adaptation and eight instances of customisation. However, these statistics do not reflect the true rates of these adaptations. Many of these brooches are highly fragmented due to plough damage or cremation, or only have their obverses illustrated on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database. The fact that most of these post-manufacture adaptations occur on the reverse and therefore are not always obvious means that they often go unnoticed. To gain a more accurate picture of rates of damage and repair up until the brooch reached the grave, a smaller sample of brooches was taken composed only of items excavated from inhumation graves and either examined by myself first hand or illustrated in detail elsewhere. This sub-sample of 298 brooches included seventy repaired brooches (23 per cent), three instances of use-adaptation and three instances of customisation. It is also of interest to know that only 64 per cent of cruciform brooches entered the grave complete (i.e. with at least one of each component, including at least one side-knob) and without any repair or other alteration.

¹³ For more on the intersection between Anglo-Saxon object and human biography, see Martin forthcoming. For general work on object biography, see Kopytoff 1986; Hoskins 1998; Gosden and Marshall 1999.

¹⁴ I have given a more detailed account of these processes in Martin 2012, which I summarise here.

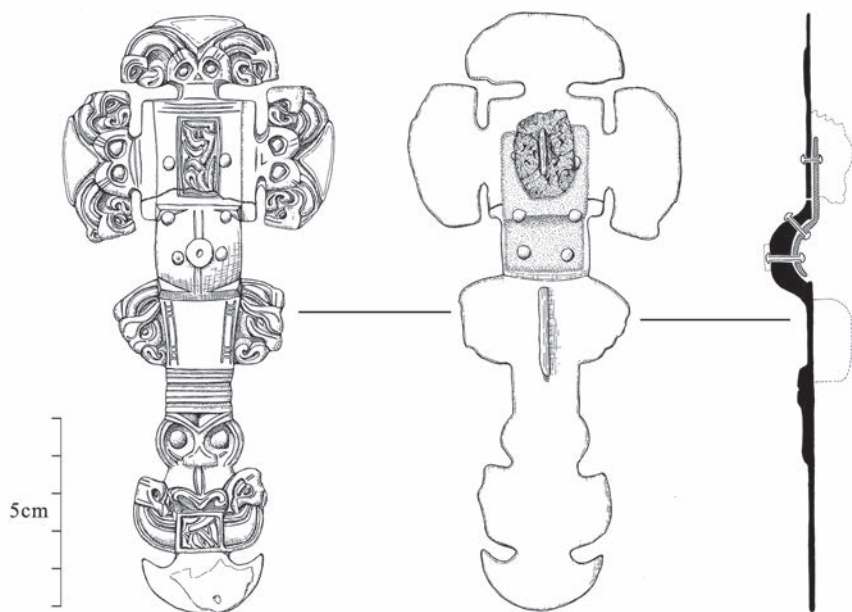


Figure 41. Rivet and plate repair technique (#1245, grave 30, Norton, type 4.5.1).

Repair

Cruciform brooch repairs conform to a limited repertoire of techniques, most but not all of which were executed regularly enough and with a sufficiently high level of skill to be considered a learned technology rather than an *ad hoc* last resort. Of the seventy repaired brooches in the above sample, thirty were repaired with a solder (43 per cent), twenty-five by riveting (36 per cent), seven with yarn (10 per cent) and four had replacement side-knobs simply inserted in the place of the old ones (6 per cent). The remaining 5 per cent were repaired by miscellaneous or indeterminate means. A description of each technique follows.

Soldering, or the use of an alloy with a low melting point as an adhesive, frequently attached replacement catches or lugs to the stubs of broken ones (Plate 36). If the stub of a catch was missing, occasionally a slot cut in the back of a brooch could hold the new component (Plate 37). Solder also sometimes attached a new plated surface to a brooch. In some instances, the reasons for this are obvious. The replacement head-plate on a disastrous miscasting from grave 99 at Holywell Row (#679) is a prime example (Plate 38). Other examples, however, are more enigmatic, such as new surfaces being adhered to apparently intact brooches. The example from Haslingfield (#759) is a rare example where the replacement surface survives, albeit not still attached to the brooch (Plate 39.1; note the deeply

filed lines of abrasion on the right-hand wing). Perhaps the original surface sustained damage or carried pockmarks from a casting error. Either way, the original surface was filed to create a scratched and more adhesive surface before a new plate was soldered onto it. Due to its low durability, soldering only very occasionally rejoined substantial parts, such as bows to head-plates or catch-plates. In these few cases, a plate was mounted on the back of the broken brooch with both halves soldered to it (Plate 30; note the slightly lighter colour around the top-knob and head-plate join, caused by traces of the solder). Such repairs that rejoined whole components and therefore required a stronger join usually used rivets, driven through holes drilled in each severed half and through a backing plate (Figure 41, see also Plates 12, 29.1 and 32). Occasionally, these repairs did not use a backing plate, but simply overlapped the two halves of the brooch. Rivets and plates could be either copper alloy or iron, but were usually the latter. Again, this technique sometimes rejoined broken catches as well as the occasional replacement knob. Replacement parts were generally limited to side-knobs, which are obvious where these components are non-matching. A fundamental design flaw in the attachment of side-knobs by simple insertion on the ends of the spring axis meant that their loss was common. Sometimes, replacements were chosen according to what was to hand, leading to side-knobs that did not match (e.g. Plate 13.2). Alternatively, replacement knobs with tabs for riveting were cast specially or perhaps cut from the wings of other brooches, such as the examples from grave 80 at Morning Thorpe (#763) and North Luffenham (#606, Plate 12).¹⁵ When a replacement part was not available, a fractured, rough edge was occasionally filed down to create a smooth one. Sometimes this entailed elaborate care, such as on the brooch from grave 74 at Castledyke South, which has been carefully stepped (Plate 39.3). On other examples, not only were broken edges filed, but whole components were removed to achieve symmetry, such as the severely cut down brooch from grave 2 at Andrew's Hill, Easington (#1241), which almost certainly could not have sustained this kind of damage purely by chance.¹⁶ Among the less common repairs is the plugging of voids created by air bubbles in the casting process. Only one of these is visible on a brooch from grave 61 at Westgarth Gardens (Plate 40.1, on the terminal), but a related repair is also found on a brooch from West Hendred (Plate 40.2), where the first crucible contained insufficient copper alloy and had to be topped up with a slightly different melt.¹⁷

Repairs with cord and yarn are probably under-represented in the statistics presented above, given that they are only evident when the cord itself, or its impression in corrosive products, survives (Plate 21). This obviously requires some quite specific soil conditions. These repairs provided a means of either tying the pin back onto the brooch or sewing a broken brooch onto a garment at least semi-permanently. Although this repair did not require specialist knowledge,

¹⁵ The Morning Thorpe example is illustrated in Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 265.

¹⁶ Illustrated in Hamerow and Pickin 1995, 48.

¹⁷ See Hamerow 1993, 122.

tools or materials, it is nevertheless of considerable interest. The discarding of the pin altogether and with it the dress-fastening function of the brooch, indicates that cruciform brooches were not even necessary for pinning together some garments, which could be slipped off or on over the head without any pinning or unpinning. Indeed, some of the larger examples may have even necessitated some sewn attachment, which was perhaps a function of openwork decoration.¹⁸ Such repairs, taken together with the unwieldy and fragile construction of cruciform brooches, indicate that their symbolic importance outstripped their practical function. Of course, we must also remain conscious of the fact that these items are all from graves, which might suggest a tendency to bury broken, non-functional brooches permanently sewn to mortuary garb. For reasons considered in Chapter 6, this remains an unlikely but nonetheless possible prospect.

Customisation and Use-Adaptation

Customisation and use-adaptation demonstrate that cruciform brooches were flexible items, capable of accommodating various functions and embellishments. As such, the brooch out of the mould was highly mutable. It held the potential for transformation into a secondary item and the possibility of accumulating a long and complex biography. Although rarer than repairs, types of customisation and use-adaptation follow similarly standard patterns. These were not random acts of inspiration, compromise or thrift, but preconceived and shared technologies of transformation constituting a limited repertoire of culturally approved modifications. The inscription of runes, approximating the transcription *neim*, on the back of a cruciform brooch from grave 177 at West Heslerton (#1035, Figure 28.2, though only the obverse is illustrated), for instance, conforms to a pattern of added decoration, runic and otherwise, on the reverses of brooches from both England and Scandinavia.¹⁹ Though this is the only cruciform brooch to feature runes, a great square-headed brooch from Wakerley (grave 80) bears the single word *buhu* or *buhu*.²⁰ A couple of relief brooches from Falkum and Hällan in Norway have zoomorphic decoration scratched into their reverses.²¹ A slightly later seventh-century disc brooch from Harford Farm again features a runic inscription (alongside added zoomorphic decoration), highly relevant to this discussion given that its transcription reads *luda gibætæsīgilaē* or 'Luda repaired the brooch', apparently attributing some status to the repairer of such items.²² A similar disc brooch from Boarley also features a runic inscription on its reverse. The meaning of the short, single words on the earlier examples is debatable. While runes

¹⁸ Hines 1997, 293.

¹⁹ Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 311.

²⁰ Adams and Jackson 1989, 152.

²¹ Hines 1997, Pl. 104; Rundqvist 2004.

²² Penn 2000, 45–9; Hines 1991; 2000, 81. Note that there is an alternative translation of these runes as 'May Luda make amends [or make compensation or atone] by means of the brooch' suggested in Bammesberger 2003.

may have had magical, amuletic or prognosticative powers, they may equally have stood for the name of the owner, producer or even patron. The most we can draw from this with any certainty is that the inscription of runes on the back of brooches followed a recognised, albeit rare, pattern of behaviour, which could only have further contributed to the inalienability of these items.

Drilled perforations on the terminals of cruciform brooches constitute a second variety of customisation (Plates 35.3 and 41). Most likely, they emulate the attachment loops cast on a number of cruciform brooches which, on examples from Trumpington (#286) and grave 34 at Cleatham (#573), suspended pendants or spangles, a form of thin, rattling and shining pendant (Plates 35.1 and 35.2). Although these drilled perforations could have served a number of purposes, the wire loop inserted through one on a brooch from Wanlip (#327) and another from an unknown provenance (#624, Plate 35.3) suggests their use for suspending spangles, which often hung from similar wire loops on dress pins. Alternative purposes for these drilled perforations, as well as the cast loops, could include the suspension of bead strings.

Use-adaptation of cruciform brooches is very rare indeed, but in many ways presents the most intriguing of these physical modifications as the adaptations indicate clear stages in a biography. The most ambiguous case of use-adaptation is the retention of entirely functionless fragments of brooches. One such foot fragment comes from grave 156 at Castledyke South (#83).²³ A small notch in the upper edge may suggest reuse as a pendant, or possibly a former riveted repair. Whatever its use, the presence of the fragmented brooch in a grave suggests that the deceased retained it or mourners placed it there for some specific reason, perhaps relating to its biographical significance. A perforated head-plate knob, which unfortunately lacks any archaeological context, might indicate a more likely candidate for a pendant (Figure 42.1). Again, its retention and presumably quite difficult perforation suggest some special desire to retain and wear this item, unless of course it merely represents an unusual casting fault. Another unstratified cruciform brooch foot from Lakenheath has its upper, fractured edge filed smooth, making it an intentionally finished item, but not one with an obvious function (Figure 42.2). While all of these objects are of ambiguous use, they may fit into a pattern of strangely retained items kept by specific women in purse collections. These collections are of course inscrutable, but both Audrey Meaney and Tania Dickinson have previously argued for their possible uses in witchcraft by Anglo-Saxon 'cunning women'.²⁴ If we were to entertain this interpretation, the biographical associations of such objects, their intimate and inalienable links with particular people and bodies, would be precisely what would make them effective tokens for sympathetic magic.

A small series of cruciform brooch parts probably converted into strap-ends or other kinds of mount, presents a more obviously repeated, albeit rare, cultural

²³ Illustrated in Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 187.

²⁴ Meaney 1981; Dickinson 1993b, 52–3.



Figure 42. Use-adaptation. 1. Knob adapted into a possible pendant from Northorpe (#1966); 2. Foot with a filed top edge of unknown secondary use from Lakenheath (#982); 3. Head-plate with bow and wings removed and transformed into a possible strap-end from Loveden Hill (#1120).

practice. These include an unstratified example from the cremation cemetery at Loveden Hill (#1120, Figure 42.3), a single, unstratified find from Hunningham (#542) and a further example from grave 3 at Wakerley (#963).²⁵ A more frequent reuse of cruciform brooches was as pottery stamp dies. They are included in Briscoe's 'M' category of pot stamp including cruciform brooch knobs (M 3cii) and feet (M 3ci, M 3ciii through M 3cv), among a number of other impressions from wrist-clasps, brooch spring coils, and other as yet unidentified objects found on a large number of sites, being a widespread practice not attributable to any individual potter.²⁶ Contrary to Myres' dismissive assertion that stamping pots with brooch fragments could have 'served no purpose except the purely ornamental', I would rather suggest that this indicates a secondary stage in the biographies of these items. These stamps, whose dies potentially had very close biographical associations with particular individuals, may have imbued the pot with a material connection to that person.

Use-adaptation is not unique to cruciform brooches, but has been observed a number of times with horse-bridle pieces that have intriguingly undergone the reverse of these processes by being converted into brooches (Mucking II grave 767, Lechlade grave 180) or strap-ends/pendants (Mucking II grave 639, Bifrons grave 92, Easington grave 2). Indeed, this seems to have been a common biographical

²⁵ The last example is illustrated in Adams and Jackson 1989, 82.

²⁶ T. Briscoe 1985; D. Briscoe pers. comm. 2010. The sites include Baston, Earsham, Loveden Hill, Markshall Farm, Ratcliff-on-Soar, Snape, Spong Hill, Gateshead, Sancton, Shepperton, Cassington, Great Ellingham, Elsham and Castle Acre.

pathway for horse bridles, which are in any case very rare.²⁷ A cruciform brooch from Playford (#1023), with its strangely perforated catch-plate and knobs may even represent a brooch converted into a bridle piece or strap distributor with some other purpose.²⁸ There may have been a gendered aspect of these use-adaptations. While male-associated horse-equipment occasionally became feminine garb, perhaps those cruciform brooches turned into strap-ends also represent unusual inheritances of these items by men, who converted them into something more suitable for masculine attire. If cruciform brooches really were inalienable objects with unassailable connections with particular individuals, their reuse as other objects, perhaps by other individuals, presents an interesting instance of appropriation. As an example of a similar process, it is most likely powerful associations with the past, remembered or imagined, which made Roman items potent objects for Anglo-Saxons to wear or place in graves.²⁹ There is even some new evidence that strongly suggests early Anglo-Saxon cremation urns were in fact originally food production vessels used in brewing or dairying.³⁰ Hence, the use-adaptation of cruciform brooches was part of a much wider world of material flow, where some objects passed from use to use with accumulated meaning and mutable function and form, finally ending up in graves. Cruciform brooches did not just impart identity and symbolism to their wearers, but they also absorbed these qualities from them, leading to their saturation in personal, historical and biographical symbolism and making them into objects not easily discarded or removed from circulation, except perhaps at the funeral.

These instances of physical adaptation raise questions concerning place and timing. Many of the repairs doubtlessly took place in a workshop or were probably executed by a specialist. The exceptions are probably those that were performed with yarn, which are quite obviously of the moment. They represent the best means of coping with a broken item with the materials at hand. For the most part, however, these repairs required specialist skills and materials including solders, rivets, drills, spare parts and in the case of the runes, literacy. Mends like those on the dramatically miscast brooch from Holywell Row (see above, p. 134) and the plugging of voids required a specialist and must have occurred in the workshop, immediately after casting. One of the iron rivets on the repair of a brooch from grave 30 at Norton (#1245, Figure 41), to the naked eye at least, appears to retain a tiny trace of gilding, which suggests the breakage occurred shortly after, or during, its removal from the mould, but before its gilding. However, most of these breakages probably occurred during the course of their use. As such, they indicate an obligation of craftspeople not just for the production but also for the maintenance of brooches. In other words, they imply

²⁷ Dickinson, Fern and Hall 2006, 256.

²⁸ Illustrated in West 1998, 241.

²⁹ White 1988; Eckhardt and Williams 2003.

³⁰ Perry 2011.

continuous relationships between consumers and producers that extended long after the initial gift exchange.

This assortment of repairs, customisations and use-adaptations was all part of a shared, repeated, cultural practice; a technology not of production, but of reproduction, of sustaining and transforming material forms. Just as the relative permanence of most objects makes them susceptible to the accumulation of complex meanings, their longevity makes them vulnerable to damage. Techniques of repair, customisation and use-adaptation all constitute a means of coping with both the relative permanence of materiality and the ephemeral nature of its specific forms and functions. This almost paradoxical blend of permanence and mutability makes repair, customisation and use-adaptation highly revealing of Anglo-Saxon attitudes to cruciform brooches. Above all, it demonstrates a desire to retain rather than recycle or discard them. Perhaps we can put this down to their irreplaceable biographical meanings, arising from gift exchanges, reinforced by reiterated dressed performance.

Having looked at how cruciform brooches accumulated value through gift exchange cycles and transformative processes, it is now time to explore how technical procedures of production contributed meaning to these objects. Not only did cruciform brooches receive meaning from social interactions (i.e. relationships between people), but they also gained significance from being part of a recognisable series of objects (i.e. relationships between objects), distributed geographically as far away as Scandinavia and chronologically as far back as the Roman Period. The production of the cruciform brooch series passed through various stages, involving different raw materials and casting techniques. Various forms of iconography also decorated the series, which, despite considerable morphological changes to the brooch's form, remained surprisingly stable. Hence, maintaining connections with past metalworking traditions through production techniques and iconography was tantamount to sustaining authenticity whilst inventing new symbolic meanings. Just what these symbolic meanings were and how they adapted over time is the subject of the next chapter.

Raw Materials

Cruciform brooches, like all non-ferrous Anglo-Saxon dress ornaments, were made from a wide range of copper alloys, whose differing proportions of metals place them largely in the bronze (copper and mostly tin) or gunmetal (copper, with tin and zinc in broadly equal measures) categories, with brass (copper and mostly zinc) being very rare.³¹ Catherine Mortimer, whose metallurgical analyses established cruciform brooches as among the best-understood types of the

³¹ Mortimer 1990, 351; Leahy 2003, 137; Baker 2013, 348–50. On early Anglo-Saxon copper alloys in general see Oddy 1983; Mortimer 1990; 1991; 1999; Brownsword and Hines 1993; Blades 1995; Fleming 2012; Baker 2013.

period, coined the phrase 'metallurgy of survival' for the non-ferrous metal-working of this period, evoking a picture of disrupted trade in raw materials and a decline in knowledge and technical ability.³² Compared to the abilities and resources of some preceding Roman craftspeople and the talents of later sixth- and seventh-century Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths, this is to some extent inescapably true. Nevertheless, the proficiency of the early Anglo-Saxon jeweller should not be underrated. Neither should the skills and resources of the average Romano-British jewellery-maker be overrated. While recycling rates of copper alloy likely increased between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon Periods, faltering raw metal supplies made this common practice by the third and fourth centuries.³³ Hence there is a sense that the increasingly recycled alloys of the fifth century were simply a continuation of a pattern commenced in the Roman Period. Nevertheless, Jocelyn Baker's recent metallurgical analyses indicated a continuing, albeit diminished, supply of fresh bronze in the early Anglo-Saxon period.³⁴ Furthermore, Baker suggested that fresh bronze and recycled material were not mixed in proportions entirely according to what was to hand, but with some foresight to create a workable alloy that fell within a desirable golden yellow colour range.³⁵ Although there are indications that smiths cast cruciform brooches with increasingly mixed alloys as the sixth century progressed, this could be because these typically larger objects required melts from a wider variety of scrap objects, leading to an increasingly mixed, but not necessarily more recycled, metallurgical profile.³⁶ Nevertheless, the suggestion that the very earliest brooches of phase A were more frequently made from purer, probably less recycled, alloys, more similar to their continental parallels, remains unchallenged.³⁷ Whether this was to do with a greater availability of fresh alloys at the start of the fifth century or continental import of objects (or perhaps even craftspeople) remains unexplained.

The mixing of recycled raw materials with fresh bronze presents an interesting, if intractable, problem concerning the nature of the trade networks that supplied these resources. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of naturally occurring ores and their procurement in Europe. It suffices to say that natural deposits of copper and tin in Britain are limited to regions outside the eastern production areas of cruciform brooches to the west and are otherwise only available from overseas sources.³⁸ Hence, a supply of raw materials required long-distance exchange networks. Although craftspeople may have been integral to such networks, it could also be the case that the provision of raw materials was one of the binding obligations of a patron.³⁹ According to Mary Helms, the acquisition

³² Mortimer 1990, 396.

³³ Fleming 2012.

³⁴ Baker 2013, 98–102 *contra* Mortimer 1999, 88.

³⁵ Baker 2013, 75, 399, 407.

³⁶ Mortimer 1990, 270; Baker 2013, 350.

³⁷ Mortimer 1999, 88.

³⁸ Leahy 2003, 136.

³⁹ See comments on this in Hinton 2000, 113.

and transformation of resources into skilled craft products play a major role in gaining and maintaining elite status in the first place.⁴⁰ Recycled scrap, however, presents an even more intriguing problem. The high rate at which early Anglo-Saxon mourners deposited jewellery in graves indicates a reluctance to recycle decorative copper-alloy objects. Of course, we have no way of quantifying those items that did not make it into graves, but high rates of repair also indicate an unwillingness to return broken brooches to the crucible. The most obvious source of early Anglo-Saxon scrap metal, especially in the fifth century, would therefore have been the substantial and numerous products of Roman industry, salvaged or perhaps even handed down.⁴¹ It is not therefore too far-fetched to imagine some of the inhabitants of post-Roman Britain converting their Roman jewellery and other wares into new material cultural forms and in so doing creating the objects we have come to know as 'Anglo-Saxon'. After all, these old items had to go somewhere. According to Colloredo-Mansfield, the undoing of objects, their destruction or reformation, substantiate and allow us to detect crucial social processes.⁴² Accordingly, the crucible, or rather those who controlled what went in and came out of it, played no small role in converting the people we call Romans into Anglo-Saxons. The result of this was far-reaching and profound. Not only do these cycles of raw materials affect where we choose to place our period definitions, but they were also an experienced and probably intentional means of transforming the material universe within which people made sense of their relationship to society past and present.⁴³

Copper alloy, however, was not the only raw material used in the production of cruciform brooches. As well as having springs and pins of iron, many were gilded and silvered and a very small number had inlays of metal and even enamel. Settings of glass or stone are very rare, occurring on only nine cruciform brooches most of which are advanced members of group 4.⁴⁴ Eight further brooches of the same general stylistic spread have cast decoration imitating inset stones.⁴⁵ Only three brooches have metal inlays. One is from St John's (#937, Plate 23) and has tiny pieces of inlaid silver on its collar. Another from an unspecific location in Leicestershire (#383) reportedly had crimped silver inlay on its bow. The only other known cruciform brooch with a metal inlay is a unique iron cruciform brooch from Hoxne (Plate 26), which has inlaid copper-alloy running spirals and inlaid silver zoomorphic ornament (as well as gold, silver and copper-alloy plating). Enamelling, however, was slightly more common and occurred most frequently as part of ring-and-dot decoration. Many of these little bullseyes were clearly not deep enough to hold enamel, but in some examples with deeper and

⁴⁰ Helms 1993, 210.

⁴¹ Mortimer 1990, 41 for a discussion. See also Mortimer 1999, 88; Blades 1996, 75; Coatsworth and Pinder 2002, 33. Eckhardt and Williams 2003, 155.

⁴² Colloredo-Mansfield 2003.

⁴³ Cf. Gosden 2005.

⁴⁴ These are: #1033, #1106, #1122, #1188, #1214, #1241, #1284, #1329, #1344.

⁴⁵ These are: #794, #902, #1170, #1176, #1208, #1254, #1261, #1280.

cleanly cut recesses some red or white enamel adheres (Plate 22). The cultural significance of this practice, specifically its earlier links with Romano-British enamelled brooches and later ones with hanging-bowl escutcheons, is obviously intriguing in terms of the mixture of skills that Anglo-Saxon craftspeople absorbed. It even hints at the possibility continuity of native skilled craft between the periods.⁴⁶

As mentioned above, there may have been efforts to combine alloys in such a way as to create a colour approaching gold. At some point in phase B, craftspeople achieved this effect far more efficiently by actually gilding some of their products, most likely through a process known as mercury gilding.⁴⁷ Mercury gilding involves mixing powdered gold with mercury and painting it over the surface of the brooch. Heating evaporates the mercury, leaving just a fused coating of gold. The process of applying silver to Anglo-Saxon jewellery is not well understood, but seems to have involved soldering thin strips of silver foil to the surface of the brooch. Similarly to Hines' observations of great square-headed brooches, it is difficult to tell whether the thin layers of tin or other white metal that occasionally remain in the place of this silver foil represent a cheaper method of achieving a similar colour, or are simply cases where the silver foil has come unstuck from its solder.⁴⁸

Gilding was largely restricted to group 4 brooches, with only two exceptions from group 3: an unremarkable type 3.2.1 brooch from Barton Seagrave (#642, Plate 14.1) and a type 3.2.8 brooch from grave 81 at Little Wilbraham (#823, Figure 23.2), which is not far removed from group 4 styles. These exceptions demonstrate that the technique was widely available during phase B, but restricted to group 4 brooches for reasons that help justify the delineation of these brooches on typological grounds. Silvering too was largely restricted to group 4 brooches with again only two exceptions from Barrington (#940, Plate 24) and St Johns (#937, Plate 23), both large members of sub-group 3.3 which are stylistically close to group 4. Incidentally, the brooch from St John's is also the cruciform brooch mentioned above with a silver inlay. While not gilded but plated in gold, the iron cruciform brooch from Hoxne mentioned above perhaps reveals something of the processes of innovation that led to gilt and bichrome decoration.⁴⁹ The uniqueness of the brooch demonstrates its failure as a stylistic innovation and its running spiral decoration and exceptionally pristine and coherent Style I motifs may indicate a relatively early date. As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, the authenticity of new forms of cruciform brooch depended upon the cyclical reproduction of old forms with only incremental variation. An iron cruciform brooch was obviously a step too far in this process. Although it retained the balance between form and iconography discussed below, it confounded the balance

⁴⁶ See Scull 1985; Hines 1997, 214–15; Laing 1999; Leahy 2003, 160.

⁴⁷ Brownsword, Ciuffini and Carey 1984, 107–11; Hines 1997, 214.

⁴⁸ Hines 1997, 215. See also Baker 2013, 131. On silvering generally see Leahy 2003, 148.

⁴⁹ Lowe 1910.

between form, iconography and, crucially, material, a balance obviously struck correctly with the rest of the silver, gold and copper-alloy bichrome brooches of group 4. As such, this bizarre exception to the cruciform brooch series in fact goes some way in showing quite how central the idea of raw materials, their cycles and properties were to the meaning and value of cruciform brooches.

Casting Techniques

Casting techniques for cruciform brooches were also studied in some detail by Catherine Mortimer, who suggested that a mixture of processes was in simultaneous use, including various lost wax and two-piece mould methods.⁵⁰ The lost wax process involves sculpting a positive model in wax, which is subsequently coated in clay. When the clay is heated, the wax drips away, leaving a void to receive molten copper alloy. Finally, the mould is broken apart to retrieve the finished product. Lost wax is therefore a one-off process that involves the destruction of both model and mould. A two-piece or 'bivalve' mould involves a sandwich of two clay tablets that are luted together to form a mould and then split apart to reveal the cast object. A two-piece mould can be created by pressing a wood, metal or bone model into both tablets, which can then be retrieved for creating runs of moulds.⁵¹

Our direct evidence for non-ferrous casting techniques in early Anglo-Saxon England is extremely limited, comprising two fragments of a two-piece mould fragment for casting a great square-headed brooch from Mucking, Essex, and other small clues such as a miscast small long brooch from Winterton, Lincolnshire.⁵² There is also an unfinished cruciform brooch from Dunbar Road in Leicester whose catch has not been bent over (#915, Plate 22), illustrating how this part was cast straight in order to simplify the mould construction. Given the otherwise finished nature of this brooch, including its enamelling, it seems hammering the catch over was the final stage of production for this brooch. Our most substantial evidence for cruciform brooch manufacture, however, is a steadily growing series of lead brooches, of which twelve are probably from cruciform brooches and a further three, being just fragments of bow and catch-plate, could derive from either cruciform or small long brooches.⁵³ Although for some time they have been

⁵⁰ Mortimer 1999, 87.

⁵¹ See Leahy 2003, 139–46.

⁵² Jones 1975; Leahy 2003, 141. For comments on additional evidence for metalworking, see Hinton 2003, 261–2.

⁵³ In the present dataset: #225, #902, #1112, #1128, #1271, #1966, #1977, #2070. Two of these (#1966 and #2070) do not have available images, consisting only of verbal reports. The example from Greetwell (#1271) is one of those ambiguous objects bearing resemblance to sub-group 4.6 knobs (see above, p. 77), but it could equally well be from a horse harness or mount. Further to these eight in the present corpus, a side-knob is illustrated in Leahy 2005, 338 and another three substantial fragments are illustrated in Mortimer 1994, 28. There are a further three lead fragments recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database that probably derive from a

regarded as an atypical or peripheral phenomenon, they are by now too well represented to ignore. Opinion on the function of these lead objects varies and the fact that none of them derives from an archaeological context does not help. A major clue, however, lies in the fact that not one of them demonstrably belonged to a functional brooch. None occurs as part of a mortuary assemblage, let alone costume, and none possesses iron fittings. The lugs, where they survive on two examples (the example from Walkington, #1128 illustrated on Plate 42.7 and an unprovenanced example illustrated by Mortimer), are not perforated and therefore they could never have held a spring-axis pin. On a further example from Tuxford (#1977, Plate 42.4), the lug is a rudimentary lump, obviously not that of a finished product. The catches of the large example illustrated by Mortimer, as well as one from Westborough (#902, Plate 42.5), are far thicker than those seen on finished brooches, apparently a thick spar to be thinned down and hammered over after the secondary casting. The example with a bent catch illustrated by Mortimer does not look intentionally rolled but accidentally crushed. Yet, the bent catch on another example illustrated by Leahy looks deliberate. The type 4.1.1 knob from Great Casterton (#1112, Plate 42.3) also lacks perforations, affording it no means of attachment. Conversely, a simpler knob illustrated by Leahy is actually perforated, suggesting that this one at least may have been functional. The majority of these pieces, however, are quite obviously from non-functional brooches. The unbent and unpierced components are precisely what one would expect from objects pressed into clay to create a mould. The suggestion, therefore, is that most of these lead models were part of a complex manufacturing chain, in which: (1) a positive wax model formed the basis of a lost wax mould to receive molten lead; (2) the lead model was retrieved and roughly finished before being pressed into a two-piece clay mould; and finally (3) the two-piece mould was used to cast a copper-alloy brooch, whose finishing included perforating the lug(s) and hammering over the catch.⁵⁴ The justification for this lengthy process lies in the fact that creating a wax model is time consuming. Lost wax casting with lead, due to its much lower melting point, is far less risky than copper alloy. The lead models therefore constitute an intermediate stage ensuring that a miscasting would only necessitate the making of a new mould, rather than a new model and mould.

Despite the fact that lead models permit the creation of runs of identical brooches, this does not seem to have been common practice. Even pairs of almost identical cruciform brooches show very slight differences in proportions and

great square-headed brooch (LEIC-239B23), a small square-headed brooch (SWYOR-1ED855) and a wrist-clasp gusset plate (SF-221F20). See Hines 1997, 205–12 for further discussion. See also Ager 2006 for a lead sword-pommel model of similar date. Vierck and Cappele 1971 record similarly unfinished (though copper-alloy) brooches from a grave also containing metalworking tools in Poysdorf, Austria. There is also a lead fragmented great square-headed from Geneva in Switzerland, see Hines 1997, 206.

⁵⁴ Mortimer 1994, 30–1.

decoration.⁵⁵ Post-casting finishing or adjustments to the mould after the model was removed may well explain much of this variation. Overall it seems that at least in phase B, to which all of these lead models belong, uniqueness was desirable. Although a cruciform brooch had to conform to certain conventions (see below), reproducing identical forms was apparently not especially desirable, at least during phase B. Accordingly, craftspeople did not produce large runs of identical brooches from the same model. Although there are large groups of nearly identical brooches among types 2.1.3 and 2.2.2, for instance, they do not demonstrably originate from a literally shared template. It seems likely that lead models occasionally produced pairs of brooches or perhaps small runs, but we would not expect these to be evident in the small sample the archaeological record provides. The main use of lead models seems to have been as a measure to reduce the risk of miscasting.

As outlined in Chapter 2, the diversity among phase B brooches has an underlying cause in their composite design structure. This may ultimately originate in the wax model production stage. It seems likely that wax models for most phase B brooches were built from individual components, which essentially corresponded to the design structure devised in Chapter 2 (e.g. knobs, head-plates, bows, catch-plates and feet). These components could either be carved individually from wax, or even made in runs from clay moulds. A simple warming iron could join these wax components prior to mould construction, for the production of a secondary lead model or even a final product.⁵⁶ Although it sounds like an elaborate process, it is a prudent way to work with the unwieldy, fragile shape of cruciform brooches. Carving one from a single block of wax is virtually impossible, but once a craftsman was equipped with a variety of component moulds, the production of wax models would have been considerably speedier. If indeed this was the case, and the craftsman mentally conceived each cruciform brooch as a combination of particular components rather than an indivisible singularity. This would explain the fluid exchange of components so clearly demonstrated in the typology of groups 2 and 3.

This method of production, if indeed it is plausible, seems only to have been typical of phase B brooches. The box-catches of some phase A brooches (see above, p. 19), which do not require hammering over like those of phases B and C, are only possible through the lost wax method of casting. They cannot be carved into a two-piece mould without considerable difficulty.⁵⁷ Lost wax methods would explain the limited size, simple decoration and irregularity of design components among group 1 cruciform brooches. A smaller, simpler, three-dimensional design

⁵⁵ The same is found for great square-headed brooches and saucer brooches, see Dickinson 1982 and Hines 1997, 207.

⁵⁶ By supporting this theory, I follow the previous accounts of Hines, Axboe and Leigh regarding the production of great square-headed brooches, which have a similarly composite design structure, see Leigh 1980, 179; Hines 1997, 211.

⁵⁷ Mortimer 1999, 85.

is more suited to lost wax casting than the flatter, planate shapes of groups 2, 3 and especially 4, which were probably cast from two-piece moulds. The fact that the design components of group 1 brooches are inconsistent perhaps indicates that they were one-offs copied by eye or even from memory onto a single wax model. This would not permit the various adjustments and refinements of working with secondary models or two-piece moulds. We might also envisage that if this was the case, group 1 brooches, in the mind of the craftsman, were indivisible singularities rather than the composite objects so typical of groups 2 and 3, leading to the distinctly grouped correspondence analysis generated for group 1 brooches in Chapter 2 (see above, p. 30). Uniqueness of design structure among group 1 brooches was not necessarily desirable, as it seems for the most part they conformed to relatively simple, easily replicable forms. However, their production technique made uniqueness inevitable.

Uniqueness, desired in phase B and inadvertent in phase A, was almost absent during phase C when cruciform brooches followed a small number of specific templates. However, no two of these brooches are actually identical, so we might rule out the literal circulation of just a limited number of models. However, some possibly even centralised control over production seems to have occurred at this stage, as the composite design structure disappears almost entirely. Consistency among component combinations indicates that their creators once again conceived cruciform brooches as indivisible objects. The basic shape or silhouette of each phase C type unites its members and only the details of their iconography and various other elaborations tend to vary. This, therefore, might indicate a third mode of production for phase C, involving the pressing of a blank, perhaps wooden, template into clay or sand, forming a mould to be filled with wax. This wax tablet then received decoration, carved in the positive, which could then form the pattern for second mould to cast either a lead model or the finished piece. Though speculative, this third technique completes a trio of production methods informed by both the typology and chronology, which go toward explaining not only the different shapes and sizes of cruciform brooches over time, but also their different design structures, which ultimately feed into their symbolic meanings. Small, simple but consistently produced brooches (phase A), obviously have different social implications from diverse, elaborate items (phase B), different again from extremely opulent but unified brooches (phase C). I will explore this development further in the next chapter.

Much of this account of production techniques is necessarily hypothetical and based on considerations of the construction of both mental and physical templates. Unusually for these situations, the physical processes seem harder to reach than the psychological ones, the latter being supported by notions of design structure originating in the correspondence analyses of Chapter 2. Despite the apparent neatness of this speculative three-stage development in cruciform brooch production, we must not forget Mortimer's conclusion that numerous techniques were in use simultaneously. The orderly progression suggested here

is more of a schematic overview than an explicit programme of the development of early Anglo-Saxon casting technologies. Then again, change in technical processes is self-evident. How else can one explain the vast differences between the small pin-like group 1 brooches and large plate-like group 4 forms if not at least partly through advances in technology that permitted larger, thinner castings? If the form of cruciform brooches was integral to their social meaning, and their social meaning was the product of a network between craftspeople, patrons and consumers, then we might expect to see changes in meaning and form to have at least some link, if not necessarily causal, to methods of production. Overall however, variation in casting techniques tells us something about how cycles of production both replicated and innovated older forms in unequal measure over the course of the fifth and sixth centuries. While this helps to explain the ebb and flow of creative impulses, ultimately leading to the typology outlined in Chapter 2, I would now like to explore how craftspeople sustained continuity, rather than change, through the cruciform brooch series.

Iconography :Notching, Faceting, Scoring

For a product to be both intelligible and original, its place in the stylistic progression must strike a balance between invention and conservatism. The cycles of replication that led craftspeople to develop new forms of cruciform brooch were therefore at once bound to tradition and open to innovation. Observing the dramatic differences between the earliest and latest cruciform brooches provokes questions concerning the retention of symbolic intelligibility in the face of remarkable transformation. It even provokes the question as to whether we truly can categorise cruciform brooches as a single material cultural class. The ability to compare more than two thousand cruciform brooches is a boon for the modern archaeologist. While early Anglo-Saxons are likely to have been aware of the general trajectory of cruciform brooch style, their perspective was different from ours, being chronologically and geographically centred. Thus, when we flick through a catalogue of early Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches we can see that, as a corpus, the series makes sense, which is why we designate it as such. However, quite how the producers and consumers of cruciform brooches made sense of these items went deeper than just a basic, formal definition as outlined at the start of this book (see above, pp. 4–5). Intelligibility and authenticity certainly involved these basic aspects of form (e.g. head-plates, bows, knobs, etc.). Nevertheless, there were more subtle characteristics, such as the placement of notches, facets, scored lines, punchmarks and, later, Style I motifs, which demonstrate that, despite growing size and elaboration, cruciform brooch design involved some core ideas about aesthetic balance and structure, about what was correct, beautiful and made sense to the Anglo-Saxon mind. These rarely scrutinised forms of decoration, though far from obvious, especially from any distance, were among the most immutable, pervasive and enduring features of cruciform

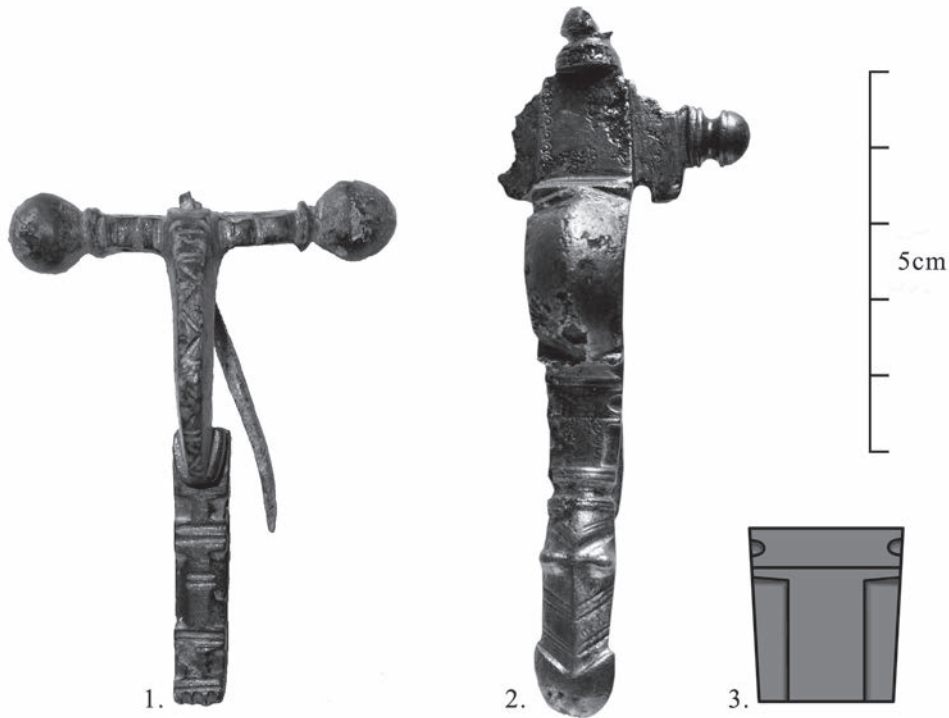


Figure 43. Notch, line and facet decoration. 1. A Romano-British crossbow brooch (from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database, SUR-56D6F6); 2. Type 2.2.2 cruciform brooch from West Stow (#456); 3. Schematic representation of the notch, line and facet decoration as it is consistently applied to cruciform brooch catch-plates.

brooches. As the ballooning structure of cruciform brooches risked exploding all sense of aesthetic balance and coherent symbolic meaning, these minor features retained a sense of cultural intelligibility, binding cruciform brooches into wider metalworking traditions.

Linear ornament, or scoring, involves simple incised lines that divide an otherwise plain field. I define a notch as a semi-circular or v-shaped scoop from an outer edge and a facet as an obviously rectangular sloped cut. Again, the purpose of these simple markings appears to be to break up an otherwise plain, rectangular surface. However, their significance goes deeper than that. These ornaments originate in a common late Roman decorative technique, most obviously seen on the feet of crossbow brooches (Figure 43.1). Its ubiquity, for instance, among the Nydam bog finds, where it decorated tweezers and Nydam brooches, demonstrates the extent to which areas outside the Empire had absorbed it during the fourth century. Indeed, these subtle decorations had been present on

Armbrustfibeln well outside the Empire for some time.⁵⁸ The presence of grouped lines, notches and facets on the feet of crossbow, Nydam, supporting-arm and cruciform brooches in the fifth century defines this simple decoration as one of very few to show complete, unabridged continuity between late Roman, post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon contexts (Figure 43).

Just like the Nydam brooches, the earliest type 1.1.1 cruciform brooches feature this decoration on their feet and often on their bows too. As soon as the zoomorphic foot was introduced with type 1.1.2 brooches and, as a consequence, a formal division between the foot and catch-plate, notches, facets and lines became limited to just catch-plates and bows. The decorative formula for catch-plates is, from the top: notches followed by a line followed by facets (Figure 43.3). Bows often feature just notches and one or two lines on the small steps up and down that join the bow to the head-plate and catch-plate. This specific decorative formula is present on nearly all group 1 catch-plates and continues through group 2 with only a small number of exceptions. Although catch-plates are sometimes too abraded for us to be certain, only one catch-plate among group 2 brooches definitely lacks this decoration, belonging to Holywell Row grave 79 (#345). This example has its edges decorated instead with punched ornament. Being a type 2.1.4 brooch, this could be a trait inherited backwards from group 3 brooches, which frequently decorate their catch-plates with punches instead of notches, facets and lines, mainly because the presence of lappets precludes this kind of decoration. However, even those group 3 brooches without lappets (i.e. sub-group 3.1, type 3.4.1) often lack the notch, facet and line decoration on their catch-plates, preferring punchmarks instead. Group 4 catch-plates are often plain, sometimes featuring punches or Style I panels. Although this decoration on catch-plates declined after group 2, it survived on the steps up and down of bows.⁵⁹ It features on about 50 per cent of group 1 bows, about 75 per cent of group 2, 50 per cent of group 3, then only about 10 per cent of group 4 bows. Hence there is a rise and fall as this decoration was transcribed from feet and catch-plate to bows in group 1, promulgated in group 2, then commenced its decline in group 3. Though lines, notches and facets declined, their overall continuity is quite remarkable. Craftspeople replicated these simple marks over and again, providing an element of cyclical continuity for an otherwise dramatically transforming object type. Despite their late Roman origins, it seems unlikely to me that such subtle markings consciously referenced any such heritage. Rather, the repetition of the notch–line–facet formula implicitly referenced an older and perhaps therefore more authentic or authoritative style. It bound cruciform brooches into a wider north-west European tradition linking objects from tweezers through to brooches into a constantly reiterated, albeit simple, aesthetic.

⁵⁸ *Armbrustfibeln*, though the term translates as ‘crossbow brooches’, are not in fact the same as the provincial Roman crossbow brooches, which are usually referred to as *Zwiebelknopffibeln* (‘onion-knobbed brooches’) in the German archaeological literature.

⁵⁹ See above p. 13 for the definition of these sub-components.

Iconography I: Punchmarks

Because they feature on virtually all the major types of early Anglo-Saxon decorative metalwork, punchmarks constitute another minor decorative technique linking cruciform brooches into wider traditions. Although simple punched decoration was again quite common on late Roman metalwork, unlike notches, facets and lines, punchmarks are almost absent from the very earliest sub-group 1.1 cruciform brooches, appearing first with any consistency on a small number of sub-group 1.2 brooches. Only about 10 per cent of group 1 brooches feature punched ornament, which rises to 45 per cent in group 2 and 79 per cent in group 3. The group 4 frequency drops back down to 44 per cent.⁶⁰ On group 1 brooches, punchmarks are generally limited to the foot and catch-plate, running down the median ridge of the former and inside edges of the latter. Punched decoration among group 1 brooches occurs only occasionally on bows and on a similarly small number of head-plates, limited to the outer edges of the central panel. Among group 2 and 3 brooches, the use of punchmarks extends to the outer borders of head-plate wings, the edges of bows and, where present, the edges of knob finials, terminals and lappets. Hence, as has been observed before by Catherine Mortimer, punched decoration generally served to accentuate the edges of decorative fields. Mortimer additionally observes that where the punchmark has an orientation, its base aligns with an edge, again emphasising the boundary of the field.⁶¹ As such, punched ornament served a similar function to the notches, lines and facets. They accentuated structure and form in the face of dramatic morphological transformation. Both these forms of decoration might therefore be designated 'structuring ornament' or ornament that does not necessarily have an explicit meaning in itself, but contributes to the overall aesthetic balance, aiding the intelligibility of its structure. Moreover, it seems significant that both these forms of subtle decoration come and go over the course of cruciform brooch development, heading towards near extinction among those latest phase C brooches when Style I ornament and bichrome colours assumed prominence. Although Style I almost certainly played a role in the decline of these older forms of ornament, perhaps this was also partly down to the continuous replication of those latest group 4 forms. Group 4 brooches became consistently intelligible styles unto themselves and therefore did not require these subtle decorative elements to provide reference to wider, older traditions.

Twenty-five types of punch of five major classes occur on cruciform brooches: (A) circular or semi-circular; (B) triangular; (C) Y-shaped; (D) composite triangular/circular designs; and (E) simple linear marks (see Figure 44).⁶² Some of

⁶⁰ These percentages were calculated from the sub-sample of 613 complete brooches used for the correspondence analyses in Chapter 2.

⁶¹ Mortimer 1998, 259.

⁶² This system differs somewhat from Mortimer 1998, which was based instead on the construction of the punching tool.

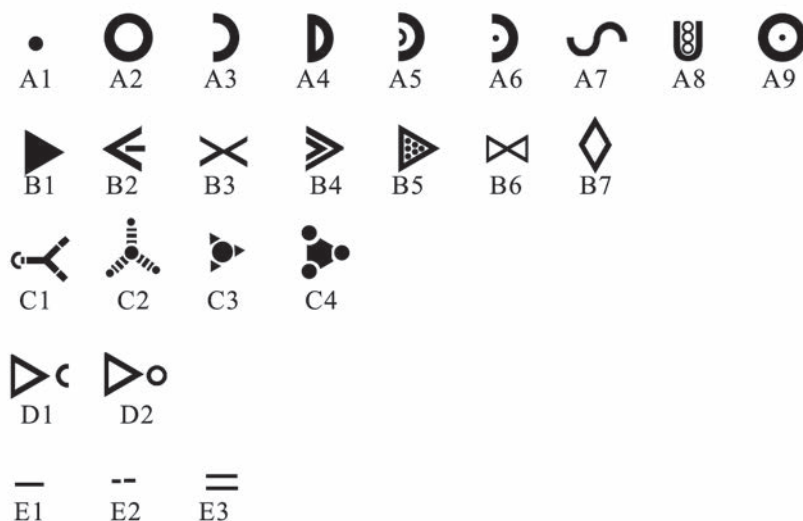


Figure 44. Punchmark types found on cruciform brooches.

these punches are rare. For instance, punches B7, D1 and E3 only occur on one cruciform brooch each, while others such as A1, A2, A3 and A5 are extremely common. The frequency of each punch, however, also depends on the phase of cruciform brooch. Phase A has only a small number of the simplest forms, including A1, A2, A3, A5, A6 and B1. Class A punches continue their popularity among groups 3 and 4 in phase B, but they are joined by a wider variety of rarer class B punches and the more elaborate classes C and D, which introduce a new level of complexity beyond elementary geometric forms. In phase C the variety decreases again, once more almost limited to the simplest A forms. A full breakdown of these punchmarks is given in Table 13.

Although the complex C and D forms are rare, their specificity may indicate some kind of abstract iconographic significance. Perhaps crucially, these intricate punches, alongside the equally detailed B5 punch, are more common on high-status objects, including great square-headed brooches, gold bracteates and silver bracelets. The D punches formed from a triangle topped by a circle are especially common on bracteates and they are also cast, not punched, around the borders of some Scandinavian relief brooches. This motif also decorates the top of Theodoric's tomb in Ravenna, built at about the same time these objects were circulating. The often-cited apotropaic function of bracteates may well attribute some magical significance to this punchmark, which also occurs stamped onto Anglo-Saxon pottery. There are, in fact, many parallels between the punches used on early Anglo-Saxon metalwork and pottery stamps. However, while the punches used on all metalwork do not significantly exceed those twenty-five

Table 13. Frequencies of punchmarks calculated from the full sample of 2,075 cruciform brooches. Note that some of the instances in the 'total' column are from fragments without a phase designation.

<i>Punch type</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Phase A (n = 7)</i>	<i>Phase B (n = 11)</i>	<i>Phase C (n = 10)</i>
A1	143	10	118	12
A2	120	1	106	9
A3	177	7	168	2
A4	5	0	5	0
A5	120	1	115	1
A6	56	3	52	0
A7	8	0	7	1
A8	2	0	2	0
A9	3	0	2	1
B1	84	3	73	5
B2	4	0	4	0
B3	4	0	4	0
B4	31	0	30	0
B5	3	0	3	0
B6	7	0	7	0
B7	1	0	1	0
C1	2	0	2	0
C2	9	0	9	0
C3	10	0	9	1
C4	3	0	3	0
D1	1	0	1	0
D2	10	0	9	1
E1	40	0	39	1
E2	5	0	5	0
E3	1	0	1	0

used on cruciform brooches depicted in Figure 44, the range used on pottery is virtually exhaustive of basic geometrical shapes.⁶³ While various symbolic, magic and even heraldic interpretations exist for cremation urn stamps, their complex-

⁶³ Mortimer 1998, 259. For pottery stamps generally see Myres 1969, 136–41; Briscoe 1982,

ity makes such readings far more likely than for punches.⁶⁴ Chris Fern, however, has offered one explanation for a number of the semi-circular class A punches, noting that a triangle within an arc, or just an arc, bears close resemblance to the impression of a horse's hoof.⁶⁵ However, the execution of this motif is very basic and it occurs among a corpus of simple, geometric, abstract forms apparently without figurative meaning. Though nevertheless possible, it seems safer to attribute to most punches used on cruciform brooches a more generic interpretation as a form of structuring ornament, the only exceptions being those more complex composite punches of classes C and D whose presence on other high status and potentially apotropaic jewellery may indicate a more specific, if at present intractable, meaning.

Iconography II: Figurative Imagery

Unlike the entirely abstract punchmarks, Salin's Style I and the cruciform brooch foot decoration make obvious reference to figurative human and animal forms, albeit highly conceptual ones. Chapter 2 contains a summary of the Style I motifs and foot decoration on cruciform brooches (pp. 41–2). I have outlined the use of animal and human imagery in some detail elsewhere, as well as exploring how these cryptic images might constitute a statement of restricted and perhaps gendered knowledge.⁶⁶ Although I will leave the gendered nature of this iconography and its content aside for the time being, I would like to revisit the idea that this iconography constitutes a means of communicating knowledge, but this time more in terms of those who made these items than those who wore them. It is by now well established that Style I evolved, or perhaps more accurately devolved, by more or less expert copying, with items such as cruciform brooches and saucer brooches being the secondary receivers of Style I from primary types, mostly square-headed or relief brooches.⁶⁷ Thus, the transcription of Style I from primary material onto cruciform brooches and from here to further cruciform brooches constituted a process of recycling technical knowledge concerning the composition and execution of each motif. It was also, however, a process of reiterating and maintaining cruciform brooches as meaningful material symbols. Like the notches, facets, lines and punchmarks, the figurative imagery that came to replace them performed the same role of binding cruciform brooches into wider metalworking traditions. Style I, however, is characterised by its continuous replication of a small number of highly specific motifs, with potentially quite specific meanings. Its importance to the continuity of cruciform brooches was perhaps

⁶⁴ On myth, magic and lunar interpretations see Myres 1969, 137–8 and Briscoe 1982, 32. On possible familial relations at Spong Hill see Hills 1980 and McKinley 1994, 102. On heraldic significance see Arnold 1983, 27; 1988a, 358.

⁶⁵ Fern 2010, 141.

⁶⁶ Martin 2013.

⁶⁷ Dickinson 2002, 163, also see above, p. 000.

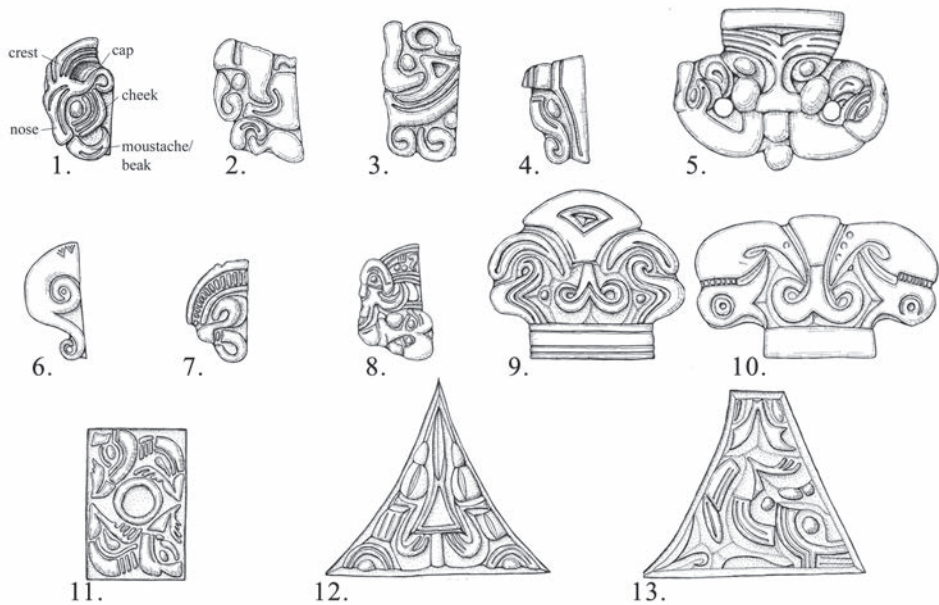


Figure 45. Major Style I motifs found on cruciform brooches. 1–5. Helmed profiles; 6–10. Biting beasts; 11–13. Crouching beasts. Not to scale.

therefore part of a more explicitly intelligible tradition, perhaps even referencing elements of mythology or cosmological belief.⁶⁸ Style I was also incredibly far-reaching and was spread across much of Europe. Not only did Style I therefore act to authenticate later cruciform brooches as part of a recognisable, meaningful and valuable material culture, but it also linked the craftsman and consumer into a much larger cultural realm.

Three basic Style I motifs occurred on cruciform brooches: helmed profiles, biting beasts and crouching quadrupeds (Figure 45). These have already been described in Chapter 2.⁶⁹ A quantification of these motifs is provided in Table 14.⁷⁰ Each can be read in multiple ways, either as animals or as humans, or as beings in the throes of transformation. While helmed profiles and biting beasts occur frequently among phase B brooches, the crouching beast was rare before phase C, and only occurred in a slightly different form among sub-group 4.3 brooches. We will return to this iconographic innovation once again in the next chapter, but for now the importance of the crouching beast motif is that it

⁶⁸ Dickinson 2002, 178; Hedeager 2011; Martin 2013, 11.

⁶⁹ See above, pp. 41–42.

⁷⁰ Note that this is a simplification of the classification given in Martin 2013. Here crouching beasts with moustaches/beaks have been included in the helmed profile category, as they are essentially the same motif enlarged and elaborated.

Table 14. Frequencies of Style I motifs among the whole sample of 2,075 cruciform brooches.

Motif	Total	Phase B (n = 1562)	Phase C (n = 105)
Helmed profile	389	312	73
Biting beast	55	40	22
Crouching beast	84	15	62

represents a human–quadruped hybrid; specifically, a quadruped with a human, helmed head. As such, all of the Style I motifs on cruciform brooches were part of a restricted repertoire that played upon multiple readings and the hybridism between imagined animal and human entities.

These Style I motifs should, however, be viewed alongside the cruciform brooch foot decoration. Both seem to delight in an ambiguity between human and animal imagery. Though the simplest group 1 zoomorphic foot occurred alongside earlier Nydam Style decoration in Scandinavia, once Style I started to be applied to cruciform brooches, the earlier foot motif, which has been likened to a horse's head, began to assume a human–animal ambiguity that was more typical of Style I.⁷¹ For instance, the brow introduced in type 2.1.2 turned an unambiguous animal head into something more humanoid. Later, among types 3.1.2 and 3.2.2 and a small number of other minor group 3 types, the foot obtained an obviously triangular, humanoid nose. What were previously spiralled nostrils grew into curled moustaches, somewhat akin to those on the helmed bird/warrior profile. Among group 4 brooches, the anthropomorphic foot became predominant until finally in phase C the more zoomorphic foot was retired entirely. Only a small number of types among sub-groups 4.1 and 4.2 retained the traditional, earlier zoomorphic foot seen among the group 2 brooches. Ambiguity of a different nature may have occurred even earlier in the series, with some members of group 2 assuming an unmistakably phallic appearance.⁷² The potentially equine or even phallic nature of the cruciform brooch foot was, however, a decidedly earlier feature probably limited to the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth. This was replaced by a different kind of ambiguous representation between anthropomorphic masks combined with bestial aspects that were far more in line with the Style I. There is therefore a case to be made for a close relationship between Style I motifs and the cruciform brooch foot. They were obviously not part of the same iconographic repertoire but they shared similar representational modes. The cruciform brooch foot, however, does not undergo quite the same process of transcription with loss

⁷¹ Note that 'Nydam Style' never occurred on Nydam brooches, which are earlier still. The two things, though linked by their type site, are entirely separate.

⁷² See Martin 2013, 9.

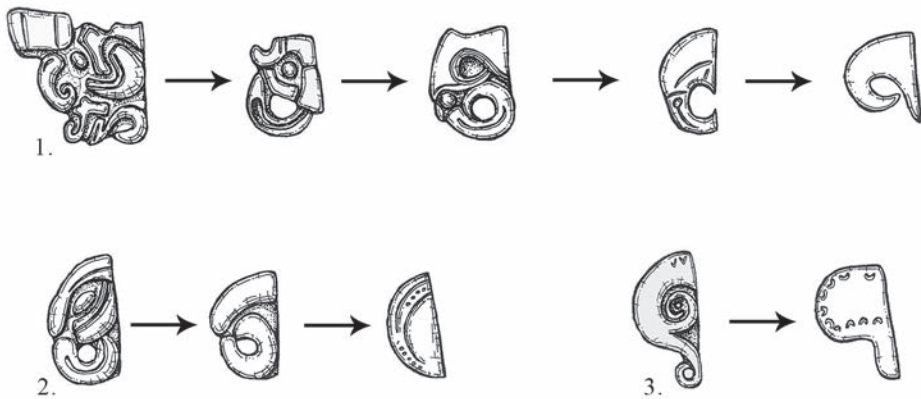


Figure 46. Degeneration of Style I. 1. From helmed profile to spiral; 2. From helmed profile to blank C-shaped lappet; 3. From biting beast to blank P-shaped lappet.

that seems to occur with the Style I motifs; it has a richer, more creative development unto itself.

The technical process of copying seems to have occurred with more loss than innovation, so that by the time we reach type 4.7.1, the Style I motifs had often devolved into a tired sprawl of ill-defined curvilinear or blocky features, only intelligible through prior knowledge of the prototypes (e.g. Plates 28.2, 29.1, 31). Comparing brooches from sub-group 4.1 with those of 4.7 reveals quite a steep progression from rounded, detailed relief forms into flatter, less detailed surfaces marked by broad, approximate lines and blocks.⁷³ Of course, this may have been intentional. Perhaps the specific motifs and their execution became less relevant as time went on.⁷⁴ The regression was probably not entirely in one direction, and it is important to bear in mind that it would have been possible to create a poor copy of one of these complex brooches, or for that matter a good copy, at any point during phases B or C. Nevertheless, it is still difficult to escape the fact that over all, and from a chronology that did not at any point take the quality of Style I into account, there is a fairly obvious chronological trend toward simplification and devolution.

The evidence for repeated copying, as opposed to repeated reference to a standard prototype, is most gainfully illustrated through a couple of examples from cruciform brooch lappets explaining the presence of both blank examples and simple spirals (Figure 46). Blank lappets are relatively common on cruciform

⁷³ It is this progression that Haseloff 1974 divides into four style phases (a–d), though he is careful to warn they are not necessarily chronological.

⁷⁴ E.g. see Dickinson 2002.

brooches, making up about 35 per cent of all examples.⁷⁵ They are distinguishable by their outline, which includes semi-circles, semi-circles with a flat base and overhanging lip, P-shapes, rectangles and notched rectangles. Nearly all of these shapes derive, in fact, from decorated counterparts (e.g. Figures 46.2 and 46.3). The notched rectangle is actually quite rare, but could represent a copy of the same shape lappets on type 4.7.1 brooches, often decorated with a pair of Style I limbs, representing much-abbreviated crouching beasts. The only exceptions that lack obvious decorated parallels are the rectangular lappets, largely limited to type 3.2.5. However, the overhanging lip on some examples may suggest they are squared-off derivations of the helmed profile. Among Norwegian brooches, where the biting beast lappet predominates, the vast majority of blank cruciform brooch lappets are P-shaped, indicating that this habit of copying with loss is part of a much wider tradition. The only type of decorated lappet that is not immediately obviously derived from a Style I design is the spiral type (not to be confused with the running spiral more common among late Roman metalwork and Anglo-Saxon saucer brooches). Close inspection of this motif reveals, however, that it derives from a gradual simplification of the bird profile motif. As Figure 46.1 shows, the spiral of the beak/moustache was gradually emphasised until it eventually became the sole component of the motif.

The importance of these examples in particular is that they illustrate an obvious tendency among Anglo-Saxon craftspeople for representing just the essence of the motifs, regarding the full motif only as a model from which to draw. Even the helmed profile itself is an abbreviation of the full animal, occasionally depicted by the crouching quadrupeds of sub-group 4.3 lappets (e.g. Figure 33 above). If the beasts on Style I panels were frequently reduced to just limbs, it would not seem particularly drastic to reduce other motifs further to just silhouettes. Looked at from an alternative perspective, even the full crouching beast is not the full creature. Because we regard it from only one side, we see just two legs (not even always in an anatomically correct position), being at all times aware that this is not an attempt to depict a natural subject, but a strictly representational, abstracted idea, whose transformation into an imaginary entity takes place in the mind. Early Anglo-Saxon craftspeople were obviously entirely comfortable reducing a subject to a sign, however abbreviated. Even a spiral or a silhouette seems to have been able to stand for what was probably a complex realm of ideas concerning the nature of human, animals and the cosmological relationship between the two.

In other words, just a notion of the motif was sufficient to authenticate the brooch as part of a recognisable tradition, even if it was just an outline, a moustache, a beak, a single eye or a limb. Hence, the production cycle and reiteration of Style I motifs, however abbreviated, were more involved in the reproduction of meaning than the replication of form. A less likely but alternative explanation

⁷⁵ This statistic, taken from the 282 complete group 3 brooches that were subjected to correspondence analysis in Chapter 2, includes plain lappets and plain lappets that were continuous with the catch-plate.

is that these motifs were an alien and ill-understood art form in Anglo-Saxon England. As such, their replication would have devolved due to the absence of appreciation for the motif's original message. Although this argument has been put forward in the past, its implications of ignorance and cultural decadence seem unlikely given the extent of communication that is likely between European regions in this period, as well as the evident time, skill and creative energy that craftspeople invested in their products and the not great effort it would have taken to 'improve' the highly abbreviated examples.⁷⁶ Both these factors make the former interpretation based on the intentional favouring of meaning over form more attractive. This stands in stark contrast to the notches, lines, facets and punchmarks discussed above, whose main purpose was to reproduce and emphasise just form. Both the figurative and non-figurative decoration, however, facilitated the continuity of cruciform brooches as authentic, intelligible members of a symbolic material tradition. The purpose of Style I in this interpretation was not so much as a vehicle for specific meanings, but to authenticate an item as part of a valued and recognisable tradition.

Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with establishing the social and material contexts of cruciform brooches. In so doing, I have outlined the technical processes of exchange, consumption, manufacture and decoration. I began by introducing the idea of exchange and production as two related cycles that (a) integrate individuals into society and (b) attribute value to objects, integrating them into the social world. Thinking about the production and reproduction of cruciform brooches has led into a complex network of questions, concerning how they were attributed and sustained both value and meaning. It seems that in a non-market economy, cruciform brooches could only have gained value through their associations with a dominant, patronising elite and their involvement in gift exchange. Though most of this argument is theoretical, arising ultimately from ethnographic models, rates of repair and other adaptations indicate that cruciform brooches really were valued for their unique and personal associations, illustrated in some cases by some obviously complex biographical trajectories involving various reuses. In terms of the reproduction and development of style, each casting and each typological development constituted both a replication and subtle recreation of cruciform brooches as objects and symbols. A careful equilibrium between form and iconography was necessary to maintain and cultivate symbolic intelligibility. Up until phase C, cruciform brooches were highly heterogeneous objects, either due to their production techniques (in phase A), or through a conscious conception of each brooch as a composition of smaller parts (in phase B). The more homogeneous members of phase C were associated by their identical

⁷⁶ See Dickinson 2002, 177 for a critique of this view.

iconographies dominated by a small repertoire of Style I motifs. Consequently, the maintenance of continuity and meaning throughout most of the series relied upon more subtle aspects of decoration, binding cruciform brooches into wider metalworking traditions and maintaining intelligibility and structure in the face of dramatic morphological transformation. Above all, I have striven to show that cruciform brooches have far more potential beyond studies of just typology and chronology. They encapsulate multiple aspects of Anglo-Saxon society and material culture. In fact, cruciform brooches were both everyday and pivotal members of the Anglo-Saxon material world and were integrally involved in the production of Anglo-Saxon society itself. The more specific role of cruciform brooches in early Anglo-Saxon society is the subject of the next chapter.

Migrants, Angles and Petty Kings

In the previous chapter, I suggested that the production and exchange of objects like cruciform brooches created a world of material and social connections binding both objects and people into what we refer to as early Anglo-Saxon society. The question posed in this chapter is what kind of a society did cruciform brooches go toward creating? And within what kind of socio-political structures did they operate? Accordingly, this chapter asks what cruciform brooches can tell us about three of the most important historical processes of the fifth and sixth centuries: migration, the construction of ethnic identities and the formation of kingdoms. I refer to these aspects as historical because our knowledge of them stems from documentary sources, foremost among them Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Indeed, it is the relationship between textual and material sources that provides some of the most intriguing and contentious problems of the period.¹ Using a type of brooch to tackle these big questions is not an original approach, though it has not been utilised for some time. In a type of jewellery, as if in a nutshell, Edward Thurlow Leeds saw the migrations and establishment of Anglo-Saxons in post-Roman Britain.² Though subsequent developments in archaeological theory make his work appear somewhat unsubtle, my methods ultimately take inspiration from Leeds' optimism in creating historical-archaeological narratives from a relatively small range of objects. The fact that such methods are still applicable attests to the richness of the socio-cultural information yielded by these items and their archaeological contexts.

Although Leeds took cruciform brooches as a direct representation of the Angles, supposedly an invasive culture and people from northern Germany, the simplicity of his work is occasionally exaggerated. Leeds was conscious that the situation was not quite that straightforward, being aware that material culture was not a direct indication of ethnicity and that the historical accounts should not be taken too literally. For instance, he explicitly questioned how much Bede would have really known about the earlier period. Neither did he envision the people

¹ See Moreland 2001 on theorising the relationship between historical and material evidence.

² E.g. Leeds 1912; 1913; 1936; 1945.

living in the Anglian regions of England as a single tribe (as Bede apparently did). Leeds also saw local differences within these supposedly distinct tribal regions and in so doing questioned the 'general rules which are hardly ever capable of universal application' that are often mistakenly seen as typifying his approach.³ When one considers that before the pioneering syntheses of Leeds, a few lines in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* made up a large part of the sum of knowledge of this period, this was not an insubstantial concession. Leeds even questioned the extent to which Anglian grave goods (in this case wrist-clasps) represented migrants, recognising that 'their presence may always be taken as a sign of an Anglian grave or of those persons living in close contact with an Anglian culture' (the italics are mine). Lethbridge, in a *Festschrift* for Leeds, explored the ambiguity of this link between named peoples and apparently invasive material culture in more detail.⁴ In fact, the extent to which we should consider individuals wearing particular brooches as natives, migrants, Angles or Saxons, first conceived among these very first pages of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology, persists to this day. The real weakness in these cultural-historical approaches lay in their tendency toward description rather than explanation or interpretation.

Let us commence therefore with a summary of what we know from historical documents, before going on to explore the theoretical relationships between material culture and ethnicity. The cruciform brooch has come to represent Anglian identity because its distribution (Figures 1 and 2, above, pp. 1–3) aligns with that settled by Anglian migrants according to Bede. Given its importance, the passage in question is often quoted, but I shall do so once again:

These new-comers were from the three most formidable races of Germany, the Saxons, Angles and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent and the Isle of Wight and those in the province of the West Saxons opposite the Isle of Wight who are called Jutes to this day. From the Saxons – that is, the country now known as the land of the Old Saxons – came the East, South and West Saxons. And from the Angles – that is, the country now known as Angulus, which lies between the provinces of the Jutes and Saxons and is said to remain unpopulated to this day – are descended the East and Middle Angles, the Mercians, all the Northumbrian stock (that is, those people living north of the river Humber), and the other English peoples.⁵

Thus Bede provides a clear indication that eighth-century Anglo-Saxon populations believed in quite specific migratory origins abroad, which provided names and along with them a legitimating ideology for their elites. From archaeology, we have a style of feminine dress that quite obviously represents some kind of emerging regional identity from at least the fifth century over the area Bede suggests was settled by migrants specifically from Angulus. Angulus has long been equated with the historical region of Angeln in present-day Schleswig-Holstein, which lies within the approximate region where Nydam brooches, the

³ Leeds 1913, 68, 74.

⁴ Leeds 1913, 75; Lethbridge 1956, 115.

⁵ *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.15.

immediate ancestors of cruciform brooches, probably originated (see above, p. 20). The distribution of saucer brooches in south-west England mirrors that of cruciform brooches in the east and the former have accordingly come to represent an opposed Saxon identity.⁶ Kent also possesses a highly characteristic package of feminine dress accessories. The case at first seems clear, but the idea of a primordial Anglian, Saxon or Jutish people, stemming from easily defined Germanic tribal groups, directly transferred to eastern England and represented by a particular form of feminine dress, is not without substantial problems. From an historical perspective, we must admit that the establishment by the eighth century of an Anglian origin myth, whatever the extent of truth within it, was a combined product of the complex processes of migration, ethnogenesis (i.e. the construction of ethnic identities) and kingdom formation during which ideologies and the nature of group identities probably altered dramatically. From an archaeological perspective, this evokes the age-old problem of equating peoples with material culture. Notwithstanding these problems, strictly regionalised dress styles irrefutably existed in the fifth and sixth centuries. Despite occasional claims to the contrary and a plethora of new data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme, their borders and cores are in fact obvious and well defined, though they certainly change over time.⁷ These regions inescapably represented regional identities of some form, however we come to define them.

Doubts concerning the primordial nature of Anglian identity were indeed raised by Leeds and Lethbridge, but major steps forward only materialised in the 1980s and 1990s with more anthropologically informed concepts of ethnicity and migration.⁸ There are few historical or ethnographic precedents for the wholesale movement and invasion by single, named peoples. Though this does not necessarily rule out so-called 'folk migrations' or *Völkerwanderung*, it means we are provided with few tools to understand the social processes they may have entailed. The evidence we possess from migration studies generally suggests that peoples do not migrate unchanged, but form new identities through native and newcomer interactions.⁹ Simultaneously, post-colonial theory tells us that colonisers do not only influence the colonised; the reverse also occurs. These kinds of movements are always two-way processes. Scepticism in Anglo-Saxon studies echoed wider movements in archaeological thought, which rejected migration as a satisfactory explanation for the geographical proliferation of material culture and even doubted the basic ability of archaeology to address such matters.¹⁰ Re-evaluation of these traditional presuppositions from an anthropological

⁶ See Leeds 1912, 160 and Dickinson 1991 for a more nuanced approach.

⁷ *Contra* Lucy and Reynolds 2002, 10.

⁸ Called for in Dickinson 1980. E.g. Hamerow 1997; Härke 1998; Hills 1999; 2003; Hines 1999b.

⁹ Anthony 1990; Burmeister 2000. For an application of this theory to Anglo-Saxon archaeology see Hamerow 1999, 125.

¹⁰ Starting with Clarke 1966.

perspective has similarly inspired critical rereadings of the historical record, which for this period is especially opaque.¹¹

Indeed, the opacity of Bede's and Gildas' accounts leaves archaeology to provide the answers to questions historical documents raise but do not answer. In order to understand the relationships between objects and identity, we must turn to theory from wider material culture studies and social anthropology. Archaeologists and anthropologists rejected the idea of bounded, independent cultures a long time ago.¹² Hence, the equation of archaeological cultures with ethnicities is defunct (e.g. Angles, Saxons, native Britons). Accordingly, we can no longer see types of brooches as the passive products of pre-existing bounded groups. As I have elaborated in the previous chapter, the products of craft production and their redistribution are intentional and motivated by ambitious social agents. Objects do not express some inner identity felt by their consumers and producers. Instead, these kinds of social meanings emerge through practice, including the repeated and conspicuous display of dress.¹³ Accordingly, relationships between objects and people provide a means of constructing identities, including ethnicity, in the first place.¹⁴ Dress, for instance, provides a means of integrating and segregating specific social groups simply by making people look different. Accordingly, identity does not cause different styles of material culture to emerge, but emerges from them, or at least as part of a two-way process. Identity is not a fact but a process through which groups of people experience social difference in the world. To put this in the context of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology, traditional approaches to cruciform or saucer brooches, for instance, presupposed the existence of bounded, named groups directly lifted from texts. Leeds' admission, quoted above, that Anglian grave goods may not represent Angles but people influenced by them presupposes the existence of two distinct, immutable cultures: invasive Angles and native Britons, both of whom could wear cruciform brooches, the former by some inherent impulse and the latter by the mysterious forces of cultural influence. But what if Angles only became Angles by wearing such objects?

Summary of Chronological Distributions

In the distribution maps provided below find-spots have been subjected to simple kernel density analyses, which convert individual points into regions of relative

¹¹ Yorke 1993; McNamara 1994; Wood 1997; Bartholomew 2005. For place-name evidence see Gelling 1993.

¹² Shennan 1989, 6. For the anthropological perspective see Carrithers 1992, 12–33; Gosden 1999, 190–7.

¹³ The idea that society is structured through practice emerges largely from the post-structuralist social theory, most prominently Bourdieu 1977 and Giddens 1979.

¹⁴ This was most famously shown by the ethnoarchaeological work of Hodder 1979; 1982, 186–8. See also Jones 1997, 106–10.

concentration, indicated by shaded contours. The data used to generate all of the following distribution maps includes the full sample of 2,075 cruciform brooches, which come from a total of 1,115 find-spots.¹⁵ The points are also included on these maps, though it should be noted that many of these indicate sites which have yielded numerous cruciform brooches. Kernel density analysis therefore does not substantially alter the data, but it does make the key differences between maps easier to read. Among the find-spots, 135 represent either cemetery excavations or brooches otherwise found in association with human remains (the latter are mostly from antiquarian accounts). No fewer than 868 represent find-spots from the Portable Antiquities Scheme, almost all of which will have been generated from metal detecting. The remaining 112 find-spots are stray finds recorded by other means than the Portable Antiquities Scheme and include six sites for which specific information regarding possible associated material was not available. These Portable Antiquities Scheme and otherwise entirely contextless finds constitute 88 per cent of all the known find-spots for cruciform brooches and 65 per cent of the total corpus of objects (1,350 finds).¹⁶ The inclusion of this quantity of items without archaeological contexts provokes questions concerning the circumstances of deposition, recovery and the compatibility of these two datasets. To examine this issue, Figures 47 and 48 compare data from excavated sites and mostly metal-detected stray finds. In these maps, the kernel density analysis does not take numbers of cruciform brooches from each find-spot into account. Hence, a site that yielded just one brooch scores the same as a site that yielded ten. This is a logical method to use when the question at stake concerns the discovery of sites rather than their productivity. The fact that complete excavation obviously yields more finds than metal-detecting surveys would only introduce further potential bias.

The first thing to bear in mind about these two maps is that the stray find-spots outnumber the cemetery sites by about seven to one. This does not, however, necessarily mean that the former is more reliable. It is worth exploring some questions about the compatibility of these datasets. Because the decorative early Anglo-Saxon metalwork recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (including and exceeding cruciform brooches) often occurs in small groups and only very rarely occurs in excavated settlements, an origin for most of it in plough-disturbed graves is likely. Hence, both maps probably represent traces of the same burial practices recovered by two different methods rather than burial in one case and casual loss in the other. The evidence for many of these items being the result

¹⁵ Only twenty-four cruciform brooches in the dataset have no find-spot. The accuracy of the find-spots varies depending on the information provided by the PAS, HERs and publications, but none are knowingly less accurate than 1 km², and most are accurate to 100 m². For a large-scale study like this one, this accuracy is easily sufficient. Grid references are not supplied in the accompanying dataset for legal reasons.

¹⁶ Note that this total is not of brooches from secure, recorded grave contexts (which are considerably fewer), but items that have come from known cemetery sites, whether their specific contexts were recorded or not.

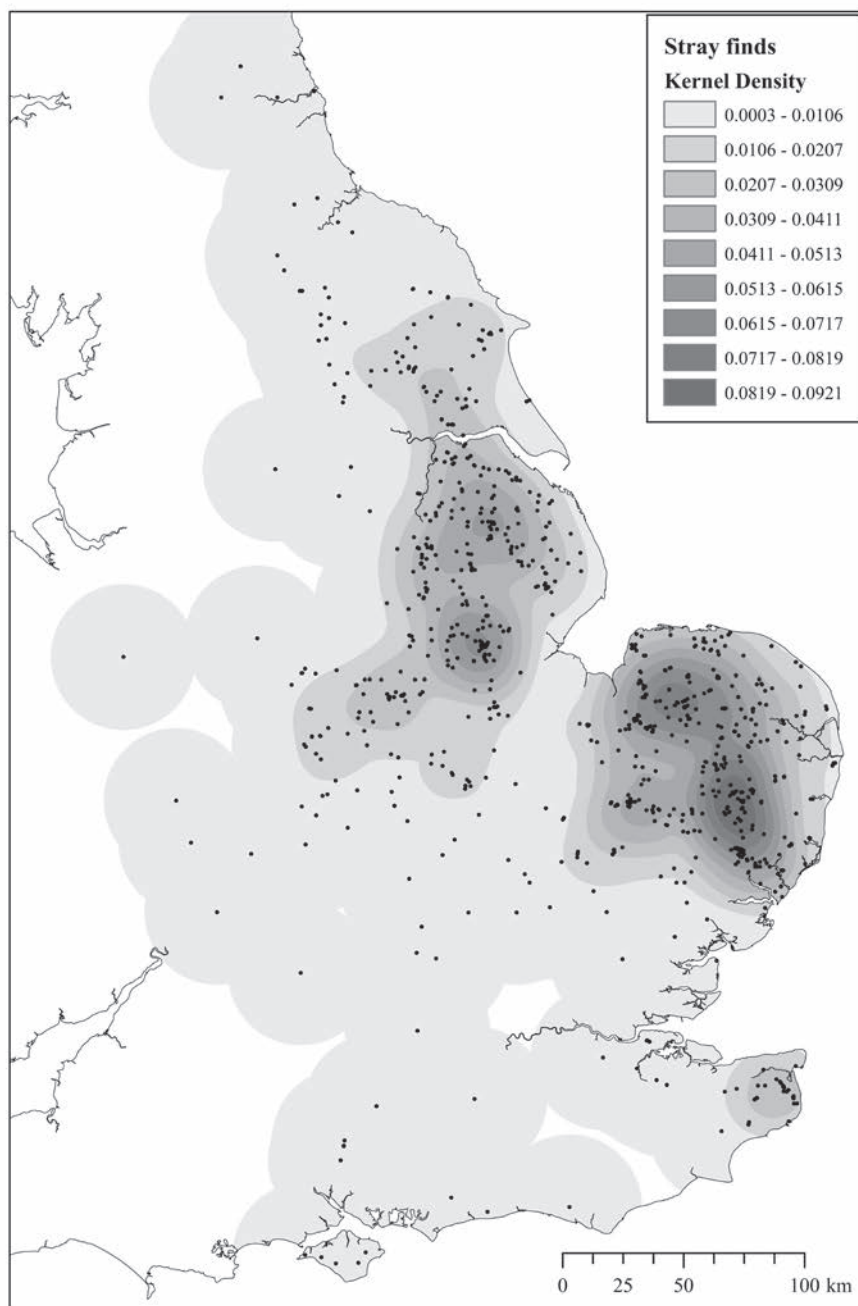


Figure 47. Kernel density analysis of all 980 stray find-spots for cruciform brooches recovered by metal detecting or alternative means. The kernel density analysis was calculated using a search radius of 30 km and did not take numbers of brooches from each find-spot into account. The numerical values correspond to sites per square kilometre.

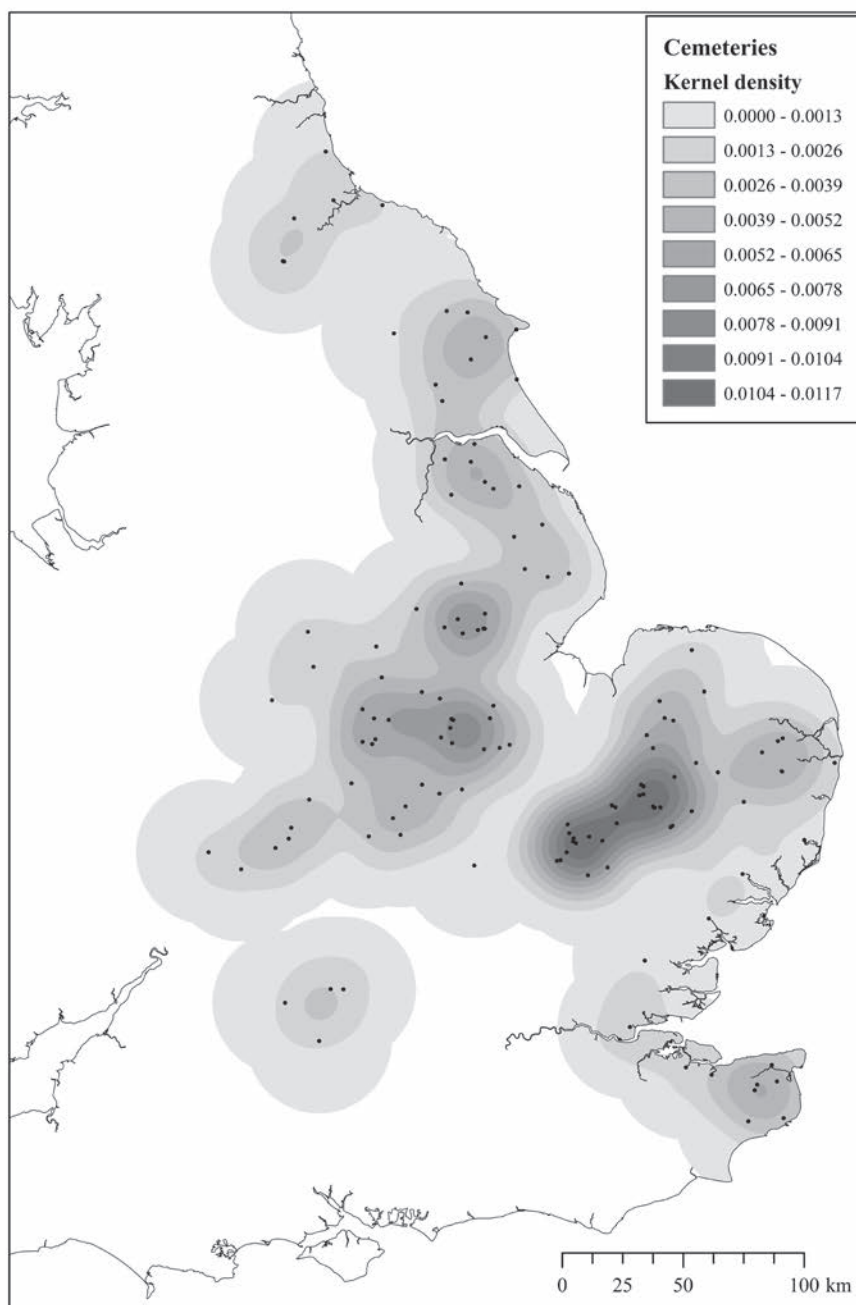


Figure 48. Kernel density analysis of all 135 find-spots for cruciform brooches excavated from known cemeteries. The kernel density analysis was calculated using a search radius of 30 km and did not take numbers of brooches from each find-spot into account. The numerical values correspond to sites per square kilometre.

of casual loss is slim. Nevertheless, there are some differences between the samples, the most obvious being that the stray finds are somewhat more limited to the east than the cemetery sites, which spread through the Midlands. The major differences between the two datasets probably highlight the well-known bias in metal-detected data toward East Anglia and Lincolnshire. Definitive answers on this matter would not only require exploratory excavations on metal-detected sites but also a dataset considering more than just cruciform brooches.¹⁷ Overall, however, the differences between the datasets are not insurmountable. Though they would have substantial significances for local studies, on a national level they show broadly the same thing. Accordingly, metal-detected finds do not rewrite our understanding of the regional nature of cruciform brooches, but flesh out the previously known distributions to an extent that would have been unprecedented in previous work. Nevertheless, the differences in these two datasets should be borne in mind for the following discussion.

The distribution of cruciform brooches over time varies considerably. In the kernel density analyses seen in Figures 49, 50 and 51, unlike those above, numbers of cruciform brooches from each site were taken into account. Hence, a site that yielded just one brooch has less of an impact on the analysis than a site that yielded ten. The justification for this is that this analysis concerns not just the presence or absence of cruciform brooches but overall quantities from each locality. From the very start, phase A cruciform brooches show an obvious preference for easterly regions (Figure 49). There is a slight preference for even more easterly regions than in phase B (Figure 50). In East Anglia, the focus is more obviously easterly because it does not yet spread westward into south Cambridgeshire. The distribution in Lincolnshire similarly tends slightly more toward the north and east around the Humber estuary than it does in later phases. In these respects, however, the bias of Portable Antiquities Scheme finds toward the east should be noted, as phase A brooches are particularly prominent among metal-detected finds (see below, pp. 176–7). The phase A distribution in East Yorkshire also tends more toward the east. Despite this easterly or estuarine tendency in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and East Anglia, a surprisingly westerly concentration of cruciform brooches occurred around Rutland and to the north in Nottinghamshire that is not so obvious in later phases. The most significant difference between phases A and B, however, is that, relatively speaking, there were a greater number of earlier outlying brooches to the south and west in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hampshire in the earlier phase, most prominently picked out by the kernel density analysis contours around Winchester and in Oxfordshire. Kent possessed a higher density of cruciform brooches in this early period than any other. Summarily, although the eastern distribution of cruciform brooches already existed during phase A, it was not quite so well established and its outliers assume modest significance in the density analysis unseen in phase B. Relatively

¹⁷ Chester-Kadwell 2009 provides such a dataset for Norfolk and explores these questions in more detail. See Robbins 2012; 2013 for analyses of the factors involved in this bias on a local level.

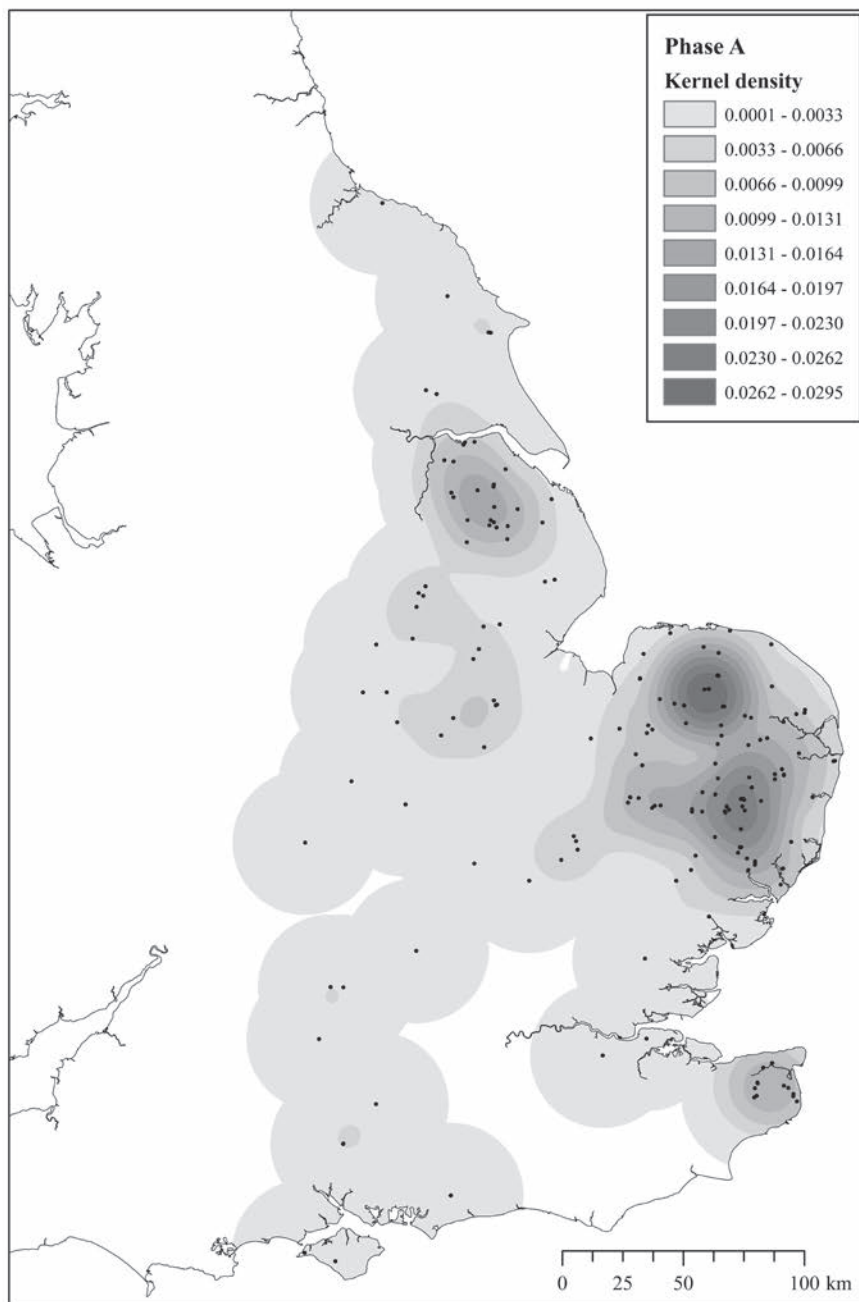


Figure 49. Kernel density analysis of all 227 phase A cruciform brooches. The kernel density analysis was calculated using a search radius of 30 km, taking numbers of brooches from each find-spot into account. The numerical values correspond to sites per square kilometre.

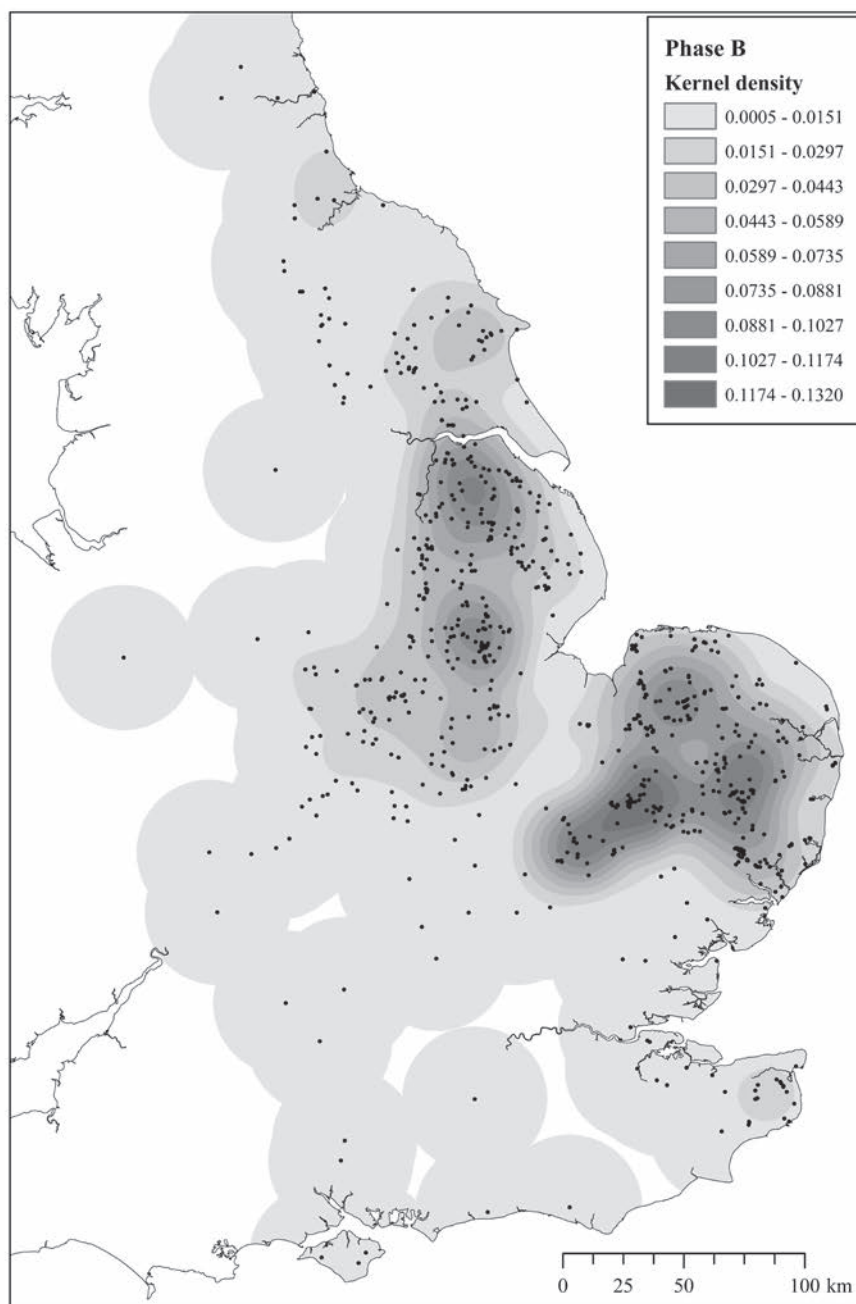


Figure 50. Kernel density analysis of all 1,572 phase B cruciform brooches. The kernel density analysis was calculated using a search radius of 30 km, taking numbers of brooches from each find-spot into account. The numerical values correspond to sites per square kilometre.

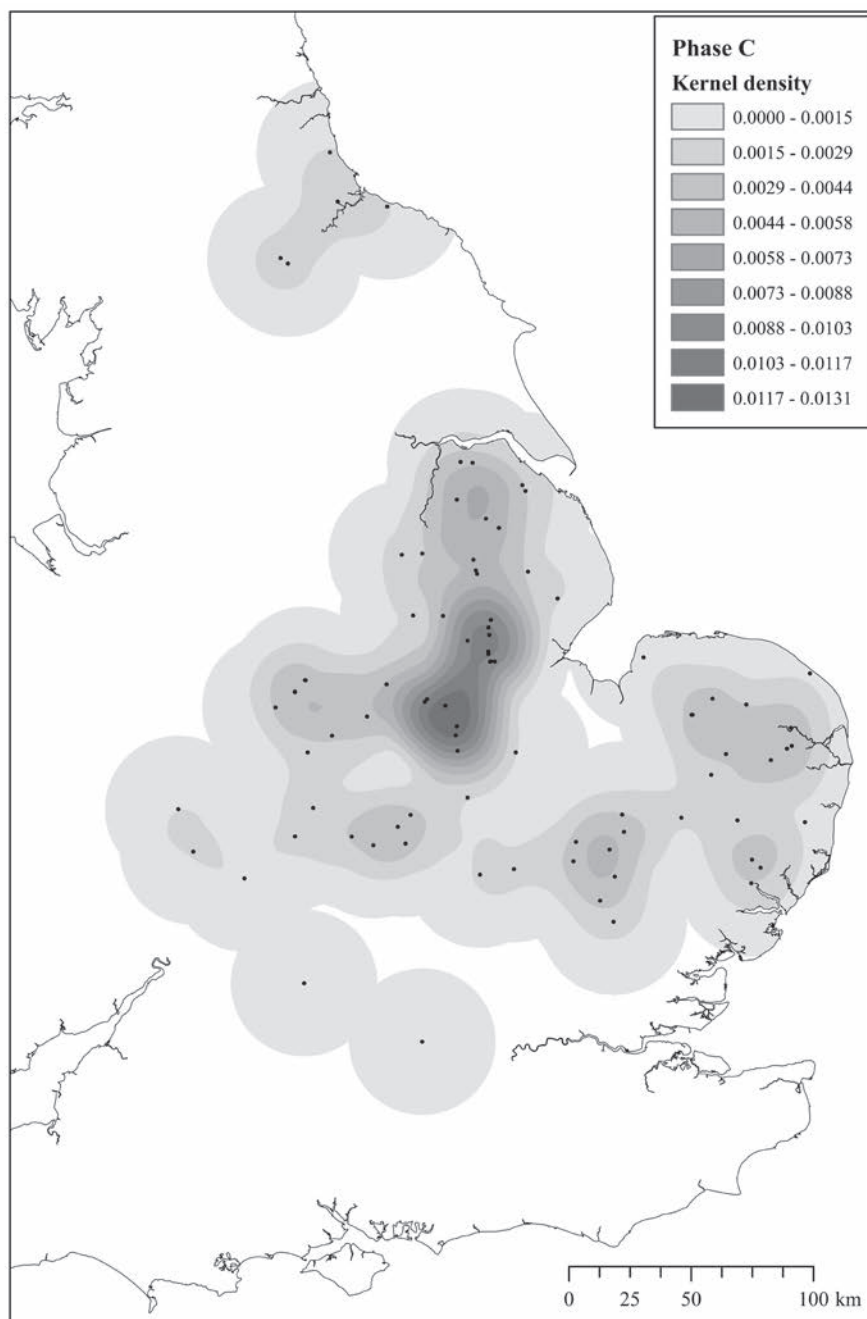


Figure 51. Kernel density analysis of all 105 phase C cruciform brooches. The kernel density analysis was calculated using a search radius of 30 km, taking numbers of brooches from each find-spot into account. The numerical values correspond to sites per square kilometre.

large numbers of outliers occurred in southern and central England and there were substantial concentrations in Kent.

During phase B (Figure 50), these core easterly regions consolidated and spread westwards, most significantly into the East Midlands and southern Cambridgeshire. Obvious concentrations emerged in north and south Lincolnshire and Rutland, as well as in west and east Norfolk, east Suffolk and the Lark Valley, south Cambridgeshire and north Essex. Cruciform brooches also spread north and although they were still rare beyond the East Riding, they were certainly present through Northumberland. Simultaneously, there were relatively fewer outliers to the south and west, while numbers of cruciform brooches in Kent substantially declined.

Phase C (Figure 51) witnessed an abrupt breakdown of those tightly focused easterly core regions encountered in phase B. They were replaced by a more even spread from East Anglia and Lincolnshire across the entire Midlands all the way through to Worcestershire and even Gloucestershire, with an especially concentrated area in the East Midlands around Rutland and a new lesser concentration just south of here in Northamptonshire. Relatively high concentrations also increased in the north, with a particularly focused zone around the Tees Valley. The East Riding strangely drops out of the picture altogether along with Kent. Beyond this switch in overall distribution, the core concentrations also changed, with the most concentrated area of phase C lying in the East Midlands rather than East Anglia and Lincolnshire. However, this particular focus in the East Midlands may well be to do with the chance excavation of particularly productive cemeteries in the region.¹⁸

To put this in the contexts of the typology and absolute chronology, during the earlier part of the fifth century small plain and simple cruciform brooches emerged in post-Roman Britain immediately focused in the east. They were not at this point especially restricted to this zone, occurring in smaller numbers in the south and west. By about AD 475, however, cruciform brooches became increasingly restricted to easterly locales, whilst simultaneously spreading into the far north. While cruciform brooches were very heavily concentrated in this easterly region in phase B, increasingly elaborate forms of highly heterogeneous types differentiated the type series. This process probably continued for about fifty years or so, when larger, more consistently designed cruciform brooches began to be distributed further westwards, until about AD 550 when the easterly distribution broke down entirely, being replaced by a homogeneous spread of fewer brooches, evenly distributed across central England, with a small group of outliers to the far north. This complex mix of stylistic, chronological and geographical

¹⁸ Empingham II and Market Overton in Rutland both produced unusually high numbers of phase C brooches. The fact that there are two such cemeteries in the same region, however, strengthens the case that they were representative. See also comments above on rates of metal-detected and excavated finds in the East Midlands.

information provokes some questions concerning the adapting meanings of cruciform brooches over the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

The Migrations

Since the inception of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology, the nature of the so-called barbarian migrations has been relevant to most subjects of enquiry concerning fifth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England. Perhaps this relevance arises from the fact that Anglo-Saxon archaeology has grown up under a peculiarly historical paradigm. There are certainly some that would seek to escape it and treat the period as prehistoric, which has previously led to a certain 'malaise' surrounding the whole issue.¹⁹ More recently, research combining historical and archaeological evidence has substantially advanced the arguments and found wide audiences within both disciplines.²⁰ Another major step forward is the realisation in the last few decades that traditional archaeological and historical evidence will never be sufficient to reach any kind of a definitive conclusion concerning the extent of migration. We must also turn to scientific evidence, foremost stable isotope analysis and studies of DNA, both ancient and modern.²¹ However, should such studies ever produce reliable estimates of proportions of migrants serious questions concerning the social processes involved will persist. Aspects of identity are especially important, for which material culture, as opposed to DNA and isotopes, may well provide the most promising clues. The first thing we will need to find out once we have established the scale upon which people migrated, is what their societies made of these population movements and how they impacted on group identity. Material culture alone cannot tell us about extents of migration, but it does offer precious cultural information complementary to the scientific and historical evidence.

The migration debate is gradually resolving between the mass migration and elite dominance models. Few would now argue from these extreme poles, but they provide a convenient framework nevertheless. The mass or folk migration hypothesis, embodied in the German period specification *Völkerwanderungszeit* (and slightly less so in the anglophone 'Migration Period'), in its most extreme form suggests that whole communities or even tribes travelled across the North Sea, leaving their homelands desolate and displacing large segments of the native British population westwards and even across the Channel into north-west

¹⁹ Hamerow 1994; 1997.

²⁰ E.g. Wickham 2005; Halsall 2007; Heather 2009.

²¹ Härke 2007. For recent commentary see Hills 2009; Härke 2011. For examples of modern DNA studies see Weale *et al.* 2002; Capelli *et al.* 2003; Thomas, Stumpf and Härke 2006. For stable isotope studies see Budd *et al.* 2004; Montgomery *et al.* 2005; Hemer 2013.

France.²² This is the kind of model evoked by Gildas and embodied in the later origin myths of the Anglo-Saxons. The elite dominance model, on the other hand, suggests that only male war leaders and their retinues migrated, subjugating and forming allegiances with native populations who strategically assumed the politically ascendant identity of the newcomers and over time integrated with them.²³ There is by now, however, an admission that no single model is suitable for Anglo-Saxon England in its entirety. Regional variation may well provide the key to resolution, with something more akin to mass migration in the south-east, gradually spreading into elite dominance in the north and west.²⁴ I accord with this compromise between the debates insofar as large-scale migration seems highly likely for at least East Anglia and parts of Lincolnshire. At the same time, however, it seems dubious that these people migrated as a coherent Anglian group. It is rather more probable that ambitious individuals gained political ascendancy subsequent to or during migration by emerging from the native and newcomer milieu with creditable claims to specific origins elsewhere, or at least kin relations or political alliances with those who did. This being the case, Anglian identity, as we hear about it in the eighth century, was a product of ethnogenesis during the fifth and sixth centuries.

Cruciform brooches are first evident in post-Roman Britain potentially as early as the 420s, with a few Nydam brooches perhaps occurring even earlier. Accordingly, their increasing presence between this date and the later fifth century (i.e. phase A) coincides with the first large-scale migrations that, according to Gildas, surged on the heels of mercenaries employed for the defence of Britain. This is why cruciform brooches, and alongside them rarer items such as supporting-arm brooches or items decorated in Quoit Brooch Style, have traditionally demonstrated the first signs of Germanic influence in Britain.²⁵ Indeed, the Germanic character of cruciform brooches should not be underrated. Despite superficial similarities, they are in fact quite different from Roman crossbow brooches and very few Roman brooches indeed featured zoomorphic terminals. Additionally, cruciform brooches were just one part of a much wider range of material culture with its best parallels outside the Roman Empire in northern Germany, including ceramics, artistic styles and even buildings.²⁶ The relatively large quantity of this early Germanic material culture found in south-east England, along with the establishment of large, early cremation cemeteries including Spong Hill in Norfolk and Cleatham in Lincolnshire, has always suggested that something closer to the mass folk movements occurred here than they did in the north and west. These large cremation cemeteries and their obvious

²² E.g. Leeds 1936; Myres 1969; Evison 1965; 1981; Welch 1985; 1992. See Welch 1985, 13–15; 1992, 11–12 for slightly more nuanced accounts supporting substantial migrations alongside native survival. See Gebühler 1998 for a detailed account of the archaeology of depopulation in Angeln.

²³ Arnold 1984; 1988b; Hodges 1989; Higham 1992.

²⁴ Hills 1992, 989; 1999, 21; Hamerow 1997, 40.

²⁵ E.g. Evison 1981; Ager 1985; Suzuki 2000.

²⁶ See Esmonde Cleary 1993 on the differences between Roman and Anglo-Saxon archaeology.

parallels in northern Germany demonstrate more convincingly than anything else does that it was not just items like cruciform brooches that were brought to post-Roman Britain, but whole packages of mortuary practices, beliefs and settlement structures, for which mass migration provides the most likely vehicle.²⁷

However, not all of these early cruciform brooches were necessarily foreign products and even if they were, there is little evidence to suggest they all came from Angeln. Although Nydam brooches probably originated in the broad northern Germanic region of the Anglian homelands, the origin of the earliest cruciform brooches is less specific. Group 1 cruciform brooches from England have equally good parallels all the way along the North Sea coast from Frisia to Jutland and even beyond to Norway. Although English cruciform brooches of sub-group 1.1 are virtually indistinguishable from their overseas parallels, sub-group 1.2 tends toward a distinctively insular style that only increases in its divergences from the continental and Scandinavian series from this point onwards. Hence, even by the mid-fifth century the majority of cruciform brooches deposited in England were quite distinctively insular products, even though they were an integral and obvious part of a material culture spanning the whole North Sea region. I have already described the evidence for imports from this point onwards as very slim indeed (see above, pp. 85–7). Hence, the equations between group 1 cruciform brooches and Germanic migrants are not necessarily as direct as many suppose. Although a direct link seems highly likely among those very earliest sub-group 1.1 examples, many of the sub-group 1.2 brooches were probably manufactured broadly where they were found.

Only sub-group 1.1 therefore provides potentially direct evidence for migration or imports. For the most part, as can be seen in Figure 7 (above, p. 23), the distribution of the earliest sub-group 1.1 cruciform brooches is very similar to those established from similarly early northern Germanic material, the main aspect of which is always a major concentration in East Anglia.²⁸ New finds from this early period, especially from the Portable Antiquities Scheme, have substantially increased our understanding of the earliest distributions. A single item from Glenthams formerly constituted the known distribution of sub-group 1.1 cruciform brooches from Lincolnshire, which is now joined by eight new finds from the broad region. A questionable but potentially very early cruciform brooch knob now comes from as far north as Bridlington in Yorkshire (#47) and Hob Hill in Tees (#24).²⁹ The Nydam brooch from Dorchester used to be the only related find this far west, but two early cruciform brooches from near Winchester, another from Chichester and even one from the Isle of Wight now consolidate these westerly reaches. Very early cruciform brooches of sub-group 1.1 from Essex and Kent

²⁷ Hills 1999, 21.

²⁸ E.g. Böhme 1986, 537; Higham 1992, 162.

²⁹ The Bridlington find, given its distinctive 'mushroom' shape, may actually derive from a Roman crossbow brooch, though it has parallels in the side-knobs of an early brooch from Cleatham grave 9. The Hob Hill find, due to its fragmented state, is also not beyond doubt.

also fit the south-east into the picture. In short, although this mass of new finds reconfirms an obvious concentration in East Anglia, indicated beyond doubt by excavations at Spong Hill, they also demonstrate a considerably greater reach to the north, west and south than has been previously envisioned.

I have previously characterised the typological structure of group 1 cruciform brooches as individualistic but limited (see above, p. 87). This was not necessarily an intentional limitation of form. The simplicity of the early cruciform brooches restricted their range of variation, potentially due to a lost wax production technique (above, pp. 146–7). This loosely defined style relates directly to their loosely defined distribution. Though even the earliest cruciform brooches were obviously concentrated in the east, there were relatively large proportions of westerly outliers. It is possible that similarly pragmatic forces, as opposed to intent, limited their distribution just as practical necessity limited their typological variation. In this very earliest stage, Germanic products did not reach these westerly reaches potentially because they lay further away from the eastern entry points of these items, regardless of whether they were carried by migrants or exchange. Perhaps western England was also less receptive to invasive material culture and social practices at this early stage. By the later fifth century, however, the western reaches of England had embraced other aspects of Germanic culture, including weapon burial, settlement forms and, of course, saucer brooches. Yet, when cruciform brooches grew to be more common in phase B, they became even more restricted to the eastern regions. Accordingly, it is probably only in phase B that an intentional desire to create and maintain regional distinctions with particular forms of material culture arose. So although there was some penetration of cruciform brooches and perhaps even migrants this far west during phase A, indeed more than has been previously thought, cruciform brooches did not become established in this region because there was less east–west traffic across England than there was across the North Sea.

The quantity of new early cruciform brooch finds, largely from the Portable Antiquities Scheme, is indeed significant. While Catherine Mortimer's corpus compiled just over two decades ago featured just eight members of sub-group 1.1, this has since increased to more than seventy-seven. Relatively speaking, this almost ten-fold increase is greater among these earliest types than between any other (the whole corpus has expanded by a factor of about four). The reason for this substantial increase may be partly due to the ease with which these earliest examples, even in a highly fragmented state, can be assigned to a specific sub-group from the shape of the top-knobs. However, this is an insufficient explanation by itself. For some reason, these very earliest brooches did not often find their way into the substantial cemeteries that are most easily located and therefore excavated. Spong Hill, an enormous cremation cemetery in Norfolk, however, provides an exception to this rule, yielding thirty-four definite cruciform brooches, largely fragmentary, of which at least thirteen were of group 1, indicating the potential abundance of cruciform brooches in at least East Anglia in the first half

of the fifth century. These figures do not even consider those brooches destroyed by the cremation pyre or never even recovered from it for subsequent interment in an urn. It may be the simple fact that these earliest cruciform brooches were not making their way into the inhumation cemeteries because such sites were simply not yet established, being a feature more typical of the last quarter of the fifth century onwards. The growing popularity of inhumation cemeteries and along with them cruciform brooches at this slightly later date tells a different story, to which I will return in the next chapter. Questions therefore remain concerning the original contexts of all these very early metal-detected cruciform brooches, presumably recovered from plough soil. One potential answer is that much smaller inhumation cemeteries preceded the foundation of most major later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the mid- to late fifth century. This is very tentatively indicated by a few, though potentially important, isolated early cruciform brooches (in one case even a Nydam brooch), recovered from outside substantial Roman settlements including Dorchester and Colchester as well as the slight phase A concentration around Winchester (see Figure 49). Although most of these finds lack excavated contexts and only the Nydam brooch from Dorchester was certainly from a burial, they indicate a slightly different mode of deposition than those in later cemeteries and perhaps even use by a sub-Roman population or at least Germanic migrants living among the rapidly declining remains of Roman towns or forts.³⁰ There is insufficient evidence to say much more about this, but those very earliest cruciform brooches evidently originated from sites that are not typical of the standard early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries.

The unprecedented number of new early cruciform brooch finds might also be able to tell us something about the gender ratio of migrants. The opinion that Germanic migrant populations were largely composed of male warriors and their leaders is integral to the elite dominance model.³¹ Accordingly, the origins of the weapon burial in Anglo-Saxon England is often prioritised over the jewellery burial as evidence for the incursions of Germanic migrants in the fifth century for the reason that its presence in Britain is predicated in earlier late Roman cemeteries along the Rhine frontier, probably among the burials of barbarian mercenaries.³² The hypothesis is that these powerful Germanic men took native wives, dressing them in their own foreign attire and in so doing converting them (to our eyes) into Anglo-Saxons. Though this does have feasible parallels in recent modern DNA evidence among much later Icelandic Viking populations, who apparently took British wives, implicating this theory in the early fifth century on lesser evidence denies women agency in the processes of migration for no good reason.³³ If we allow early weapon burials to represent male migrants it

³⁰ Knowles and Forster 1909; Kirk and Leeds 1954; Crummy 1981.

³¹ Gildas II.23. E.g. Arnold 1984; Higham 1992, 165–8.

³² Härke 1990; 1992, 195–200; 1997a, 150.

³³ Though something similar is indeed tentatively suggested by the modern DNA studies of Weale *et al.* 2002 and Capelli *et al.* 2003, we must await further evidence.

would seem unwarranted to deny women the same role on similar evidence.³⁴ Unfortunately, we lack convincing evidence from skeletal analyses at this early stage to ascertain that cruciform brooches were necessarily already strictly feminine items. This will be a topic explored in the next chapter, but for the time being I should state that at least the majority of the time this seems likely, as cruciform brooches from northern German contexts usually occur in pairs typical of feminine *p p os* dresses, rather than as single cloak clasps (see below, p. 204). If the earliest cruciform brooches were feminine items, then the 227 phase A examples alone probably rival the total number of masculine artefacts definitely datable to the first three quarters of the fifth century. It may also be worth noting that stable isotope analysis at West Heslerton in Yorkshire identified a likely Scandinavian migrant wearing a cruciform brooch, albeit it a later phase B example, indicating the ability of women to move considerable distances in this broad period.³⁵

If the earliest cruciform brooches represent migrations, then they reconfirm an obvious concentration of newcomers in East Anglia. New finds of cruciform brooches indicate that these migrants, or imports, spread further west and north than has perhaps previously been demonstrated. However, these early brooches represent much more than that. They indicate a realignment of the Romano-British stylistic compass, which now pointed to a region external to the rapidly disintegrating Roman Empire. The population of substantial areas in the east of post-Roman Britain were probably becoming increasingly Germanic by migratory origin. Perhaps more importantly to our concerns, northern Germanic material culture types gradually dominated these populations' material universe, altering forever the aspirations and aesthetic tastes of natives and migrants alike. Even so, at this stage the process was less intense than it was to become by the later fifth century. The spread of phase A cruciform brooches does not look particularly intentional, but more like a distance-decay model entering England from East Anglia and diminishing steadily and equally as it spread north, west and south.

The Emergence of Anglian England

Though there were significant population movements into eastern England during the fifth century, they were unlikely to have originated in a distinct and defined group of people from Angulus in Schleswig-Holstein. The large-scale migration evident in East Anglia also rules out the elite dominance model in its strictest interpretation. Hence, the widespread notion of being an 'Angle' this side of the North Sea must have originated in the Migration Period, emerging from a native and newcomer milieu, after or during the migrations but preceding the rise of kingdoms in the sixth and seventh centuries. Simultaneously, by the later fifth century, archaeological evidence suggests that an elite class materialised,

³⁴ See also Heather 2009, 284.

³⁵ Montgomery *et al.* 2005, 134.

inhuming their dead in particularly ostentatious manners. From the later historical sources, it is plainly evident that important components of their elite ideology were myths concerning geographical origins, voyages, conquests and a specific tribal heritage. Turning to the evidence from cruciform brooches, if the distribution and stylistic structure of phase A were somewhat nebulous, then the picture from phase B was more structured and defined. The distribution had clearly defined borders and it barely overlapped with western regions. In Kent, the population of cruciform brooches dwindled rapidly and probably did not outlast the fifth century (see above, p. 113). Accordingly, it seems obvious that cruciform brooches came to represent a form of restricted regional identity only in the later fifth century, the most likely candidate for which is that of the Angles. However, this interpretation raises some serious questions concerning whether we are justified in referring to those who wore cruciform brooches as core members of a specifically ethnic Anglian group. The key lies in a sufficiently defined version of what ethnicity entailed in the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

Ethnicity, as it is used in social anthropology, is not a primordial and uncontested identity, but an ideology to which people and groups make claims of membership. Marcus Banks, a social anthropologist, describes ethnicity as 'a collection of rather simplistic and obvious statements about boundaries, otherness, goals and achievements, being and identity, descent and classification, which has been constructed as much by the anthropologist as by the subjects'.³⁶ This definition not only captures the exasperation anthropologists have felt in trying to define the multiplicity of identities they encounter under the rubric of ethnicity, but it also emphasises the importance of being explicit about what we mean by the term. Not only can other aspects of identity such as gender, age or hierarchical status crosscut or even partly constitute ethnicity, but the extent to which ethnicity is mobilised also depends upon situational context. Such situations include when senses of belonging or authenticity among a particular social group become contested or politically advantageous, for example during political upheaval or population movements, both of which were probably two of the most defining components of the fifth century.³⁷ Of course, there are complications with comparing the arrangements of the Migration Period with contemporary understandings of ethnicity. Colonial and post-colonial processes have deeply influenced ethnicity as a globalised phenomenon, if indeed it can be generalised.³⁸ There is even some scepticism whether the term 'ethnicity' transfers into the Migration Period at all, or even if these superficially abrupt differences between groups are where we should be focusing attention.³⁹ Despite these doubts, there is a very strong argument for the presence of self- and externally defined groups

³⁶ Banks 1996, 186.

³⁷ Some key ethnographic examples include Barth 1969; Cohen 1969; Fardon 1987; Just 1989.

³⁸ Gosden 1999, 190–4.

³⁹ E.g. Lucy 1998, 19; Gowland 2007.

using evidence from historical literature, linguistics and archaeology.⁴⁰ The reflex toward deconstruction prevalent in post-processual archaeologies requires resistance, especially when it promotes the denial of valuable information just because it originates from outside the archaeological discipline. Named groups existed in this period. They at least partly constructed their identities by cultivating origin myths in foreign climes, even if the nature of these groups was somewhat altered when they were later set down in texts. Florin Curta, from an historical archaeological perspective, describes ethnicity less as a way of being, but 'as a mode of action and representation'.⁴¹ Hence, individuals or groups do not simply belong to a particular ethnicity through some internal nature, but the things they do and the mode in which they represent themselves create ideas of similarity and difference.

With this definition in mind, it is easy to see how group identities involve complex social anthropological concepts depreciated by uncritical use of the term 'ethnicity'. Group identity in early Anglo-Saxon England relates to the nature of tribal identities preceding the migrations, which is in itself a problematic area.⁴² We only know the nature of these groups through the lenses of Roman ethnographers including Julius Caesar and Tacitus, who in their own way might be described as culture-historians. They saw their task as the recording of bounded and named groups, whose historical development and habits they described (all too briefly). In doing so they reified the barbaric other in order to exemplify the civility of Rome, whilst simultaneously satirising Rome's decadence through a largely imagined free barbarian society. Hence the accounts of these ancient historians require subjection to the same critique as culture-historical archaeologies, which ultimately originated in similarly political processes.⁴³ During the early medieval period, it seems that groups assumed ethnic identities in order to manipulate and create power structures in the face of the disorder entailed by the end of Roman hegemony.⁴⁴ In the Roman period, smaller groups of barbarians, more prone to fragmentation and reassembly, existed around the fringes or at some distance from the Empire. By the fifth century, however, confederacies like the Ostrogoths, Visigoths or Franks proved that it was possible to grow and hold considerable power bases in lands previously occupied by Rome. They achieved this by solidifying their ideologies in a named identity referring to origins elsewhere. Thus, processes of migration, conquest and kingdom formation provided the substrates for ethnogenesis. Ethnic labels denoting major generally long-lived groups from the Migration Period were an historically specific result of migration and its subsequent processes.⁴⁵ Franks, for instance, are mentioned first in Roman

⁴⁰ See Hines 1994; 1999b.

⁴¹ Curta 2007. 166.

⁴² For reasoned historical comments on the antiquity of these tribal names, see Wood 1997; Hines 1999b; Siegmund 2003; Springer 2003; Bartholomew 2005.

⁴³ For the influence of contemporary politics on culture-historical interpretation see Härke 1998.

⁴⁴ See Curta 2007; Moreland 2010.

⁴⁵ Hines 1999b; Halsall 2007, 462; Moreland 2010

sources of the third century, but by the seventh century, the idea of being a Frank was most likely something very different, implying membership not of a tribe or a descent group but of a kingdom. The process of ethnogenesis, like that of much later process of nation building, required the invention of tradition or, given the likely diverse origins of many Migration Period populations, the selection and elaboration of one of many possible traditions.⁴⁶ These early medieval ethnicities therefore went through continuous re-creations depending on the rapidly changing social and political contexts of the fifth and sixth centuries, in which elements of past ancestry were forgotten as well as created.⁴⁷

A model for the actual mechanism by which early medieval ethnic groups formed is encapsulated in the idea of a *Traditionskern* or 'kernel of tradition', famously prominent in the work of Reinhard Wenskus and later exemplified in Herwig Wolfram's work on the Goths.⁴⁸ The idea of a core tradition, though conceived much earlier, relates to Curta's definition of ethnicity as a mode of practice. Particular elite groups embodied the ownership of specific identities through the things they did and the manner in which they represented themselves to the world, including, perhaps, the way they dressed. Through such repetitive modes of action, doubly authenticated by origin myths, these lineages and their affiliates became idealised as the bearers of the ethnic tradition that one could either possess or lack. Wenskus related the term Latin term *gens* (plural *gentes*), used in the literature of this period to refer to noble families with a common ancestor, directly to these bearers of tradition. The Burgundian law codes of the fifth and sixth centuries demonstrate this association between the *gentes* and early medieval ethnicities, drawing distinctions between the *p p lus noster* (i.e. the Burgundians) and the *Romani*.⁴⁹ Similar distinctions echo through the later Anglo-Saxon law codes that distinguish between the *wealh*, most likely referring to the Welsh or potentially native Britons, and other members of Anglo-Saxon society. We would probably be advised, however, to follow Peter Heather's comments on Wenskus' *Traditionskern* by envisioning its holders to exist far beyond a highly restricted noble elite, to a wider class of more dispersed freemen, whose status as members of specific noble lineages only later became more exclusive (see below).⁵⁰ In addition to this revision, we must doubly modify the case of the Angles, who probably exercised even less centralised forms of power than the fifth-century Goths until the later sixth century. Even if a sense of Anglian ethnicity was more dispersed and negotiable, the concept of the *gentes* was still probably a very real and powerful idea with important political implications, filling the vacuum left by the advantages previously felt by being a Roman in Britain.⁵¹ If the Migration

⁴⁶ C.f. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

⁴⁷ On the selective remembrance of origins see Goffart 2002.

⁴⁸ Wenskus 1961; Wolfram 1988. See Gillett 2002 for summaries.

⁴⁹ Amory 1993, 9.

⁵⁰ Heather 1996, 300–3.

⁵¹ Halsall 2007, 457.

Period can be characterised by the creation of peoples, this was only because it was politically expedient to belong to one of these groups.

Ethnic groups grew up in Migration Period Europe with names that referred to origins elsewhere, which seems appropriate for a period characterised by the accelerated movement of populations around Europe. Ethnicity was not a primordial or pseudo-racial identity endowed *en masse* to whole populations from particular geographical regions. The cores of these ethnic traditions were particular elite members of society from specific lineages and their associates, otherwise known as members of the *gentes*. Archaeology and history have so far considered these ethnicities mainly in terms of an abstract or legal ideology promulgated by elite individuals in early medieval society. I would like to argue that these identities were as much a material phenomenon as they were an ideological one. In fact, the absence of literacy in post-Roman Britain virtually forces this to be the case. Although it is possible to sustain an ideology through an oral tradition, for instance, a material tradition can only strengthen its legitimacy by providing tangibility and permanence. Anyone can claim to be of a certain group, but it takes a demonstration of legitimacy to make that claim authentic and believable. I argue that some items of material culture, authenticated by their passage through prestige gift-exchange networks (see Chapter 4), fulfilled this role. Hence, perhaps, the constant wearing and repairing of these objects (see above, pp. 134–6). The social anthropological work of Edmund Leach demonstrated that ethnicity does not necessarily inhere in all aspects of a society's culture, only selected parts, which can vary enormously between identity groups.⁵² Many of these, of course, would not even necessarily be visible in the archaeological record. Accordingly, ethnic differences are not obvious in early Anglo-Saxon England on anything but a material basis, specifically certain forms of feminine jewellery. Settlement structure shows no obvious regional characteristics. Ritual behaviour, most obviously seen in burial practices, also shows little regional distinction. Although large cremation cemeteries were limited to the east, foremost East Anglia and Lincolnshire, they are not characteristic of the entire Anglian region and cremation still occurred, if on a much smaller scale, in western regions. Masculine dress and burial do not have obvious regional characteristics. The Anglian ethnos was therefore a political ideology, constructed and demonstrated explicitly through the relationships between specific people and specific objects, namely feminine jewellery, exemplified in the tightly regionalised cruciform brooches belonging to the middle period.

There are, however, some complications surrounding the relationship between ideology and material culture, not least the extent to which one must pre-exist the other. In Maurice Godelier's terms, symbolic expression through objects has to originate in pre-existing 'imaginary kernels and symbols which belong to the

⁵² See Leach 1954, 288–90. Leach also emphasised the potential fluidity of ethnic labels and their lack of alignment with what we might also call a culture or a society (e.g. 285–7).

mental aspect of the functioning of social relations'.⁵³ Although some idea of Anglian identity must have existed before its objectification in cruciform brooches, the massive rise in these items in the later fifth century may well represent the symbiotic growth of these ideological and material traditions. However, if we consider cruciform brooches as crucial material components in the construction of Anglian identity, they cannot represent passive reflections of an identity located in some other intangible aspect of culture or psychology. Hence, the development of Anglian identity and the cruciform brooch were one and the same thing.

If cruciform brooches did not necessarily originate in the pseudo-mythological homelands, however, there are still questions concerning why it was these objects in particular that became so central to Anglian identity. Perhaps phase A cruciform brooches, with their pre-existing Germanic (as opposed to Roman) connotations connecting them at least approximately with perceived homelands in Angulus, were appropriated in an act of opportunism by an emerging elite group seeking a suitably authentic symbol with which to demonstrate their descent and cultural inheritance. The ensuing crystallisation of cruciform brooch distribution in the east during phase B is accompanied by an increasingly complex typological structure, characterised by a limited pool of components that were mixed and matched in inventive ways not only to create a very clearly defined style, but also to make individual distinctions within it. These stylistic trends may well reflect a development from more nebulous styles and identities into more formally structured ones. The traditional underlying theoretical presumption has been functionalist insofar as it has conceptualised the role of material culture as fulfilling an adaptive need. It is useful to reconsider this paradigm and suggest instead that groups of related people can construct an ideology around groups of related objects.

The growing popularity of strictly regionalised modes of feminine dress in the later fifth century represents a developing need for social distinction on an inter-regional level. If there was a time when ethnogenesis was particularly intense, this seems to be it.⁵⁴ But even from the earliest fifth century, preceding the idea of Anglian, Saxon and Jutish regions, with the very first introduction of Germanic material culture in Britain, a regionalised distribution of distinctively different objects was set up. Chris Gosden, discussing the Romanisation of Britain four centuries earlier, suggested that 'the forms of objects, the historical trajectories of the class of objects and their perceived sources combine to have social effects on people, shaping people as socially effective entities'.⁵⁵ Traditionally, archaeology focuses on the boundaries between culture groups, boundaries perhaps maintained by different ways of dressing. Gosden's approach emphasises instead the internal processes by which 'objects set up universes of their own into

⁵³ Godelier 1999, 162. Godelier's terminology here is conveniently though coincidentally linked to Wenskus' *Traditionskern*.

⁵⁴ Leeds 1945, 78; Moreland 2010, 174.

⁵⁵ Gosden 2005, 193.

which people need to fit'.⁵⁶ The principle, therefore, is that relationships between people imitate the relationships they perceive between objects. This constitutes a form of object agency, whereby objects at least appear to have an affective influence on society. The relationships between objects become analogous to those between people and likewise between people and objects.⁵⁷ Hence, the initial distribution of cruciform brooches in phase A prearranged or encoded a constellation of symbolic, material, social and geographical relationships, happening to end up focused in the east due to the inevitable outcome of most Germanic migrants and material entering from this direction. Even with this qualified belief in the agency of objects in society, we cannot allow these processes to vanish into abstract theoretical jargon. The intentional movements of people (during phase A) and the apparently tightly restricted production and redistribution of these objects (during phase B, detailed in the previous chapter) set these distributions up. Cruciform brooches only became effective ethnic symbols by their association with particular, powerful individuals, not the anonymous forces of object agency. The rise of Anglian identity in the later fifth century was a result of the political manoeuvrings of ambitious individuals and the material tools they had at their disposal. Ambitious individuals, perhaps even the founders of later dynasties, exploited this happenstance by appropriating cruciform brooches as symbols of their own elite identity. This, therefore, was very much an act of human agency.

Despite the obvious prominence of cruciform brooches, it is important not to lose sight of other closely related items of feminine dress, many of which probably had related symbolic meanings. As John Hines has demonstrated, the feminine Anglian dress ensemble owed much to Scandinavian fashions.⁵⁸ Though links to Scandinavia were clearly important in Anglian England, phase B cruciform brooches were distinctively insular, being easily distinguishable from their Scandinavian and continental parallels. If there was a need to emulate overseas dress and directly represent real or imagined kin relations with Germanic groups, there can be little doubt that the jewellery-makers discussed in the previous chapter were more than capable of fulfilling it. Instead, the elites who used cruciform brooches evidently saw themselves as distinct from, yet related to, the inhabitants of the homelands cited in their origin myths. Essentially, they were more interested in drawing links with the Germanic world than the Roman world, which, alongside ongoing population movement into post-Roman Britain, created a growing sense of superior otherness from preceding Romano-British society. The origin myths may have had a basis in population movements, but they were directly influenced by perceived material links between eastern England, the continent and Scandinavia. The cruciform brooch, however, having been around in England since at least the early fifth century (unlike wrist-clasps and girdle-hangers, for instance), possessed a deeper antiquity. As such, it constituted a

⁵⁶ Ibid., 194.

⁵⁷ Gell 1998; Morphy 2009.

⁵⁸ Hines 1984.

more convincing demonstration of descent from the pseudo-mythical homelands and the Anglian ethnos.

The Rise of Kingdoms

The development of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, like that of Anglian ethnicity, is a particularly difficult subject given its roots in a semi-mythological past, which are encapsulated no more imaginatively than in the various claims made by Anglo-Saxon dynasties to descent from Woden, Julius Caesar and even Adam. The fifth- and sixth-century founders of these dynasties probably had far less established power bases than the genealogies of their royal successors fantasised. Historical and archaeological accounts broadly agree that the origins of later Anglo-Saxon kingship lie in cumulative agglomerations of socio-political factions headed by specific descent groups in the sixth century.⁵⁹ Hence, history only tells us about the victors of this competition and has little to say about their less fortunate rivals. These competing descent groups and their retinues subsumed one another through competitive processes driven by an urge toward territorial expansion for the purposes of prestige and gathering tribute. Warfare was undoubtedly involved, but so were diplomatic processes including competitive gift exchange involving prestige objects. Among the most obvious candidates for such gift exchange are those latest and largest elaborate cruciform brooches of phase C. By the seventh and eighth centuries, these ambitious individuals, who by this point we can safely refer to as kings, had established their authority over substantial territories. That is not to say that rivals did not contest their authority, but it was possible to hold this kind of wide-ranging authority at least temporarily during this later period. The political structure of the fourth-century Alamanni provides an instructive comparison. Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary Roman historian, recorded their incursions over the Rhine frontier in AD 357, describing them explicitly as a confederation of Germanic tribes led by an array of kings, princes and nobles temporarily united under a single most powerful king, Chnodomarius.⁶⁰ The situation in the Anglian regions of England during the later fifth and sixth centuries was probably even less stable than this. We should probably imagine a whole pantheon of petty kings, only loosely united under an Anglian group identity. Thinking about the rise of kingdoms in this context helps to clarify the reasons the ambitious elites of the fifth and earlier sixth centuries had for assuming the kind of ethnic identities discussed in the previous section. Ethnic group membership served as a call for an alternative hegemony based on the reputations of powerful individuals and groups rather than the apparatus of the Roman state.⁶¹ Migration, ethnogenesis and kingdom

⁵⁹ For archaeological approaches see Arnold 1988b; 1988c; Scull 1992; 1993; 1999. For the historical see Basset 1989.

⁶⁰ This much is, however, evident from their very name, which translates as 'all men'.

⁶¹ Wickham 2005, 330.

formation were therefore all part of the same escalating process: political and economic expansion into the power vacuum and agriculturally developed lands abandoned by Rome.

The increasingly impressive funeral displays of the later fifth and sixth centuries, which reached a climax with the horizon of so-called princely burials of the seventh century, provide an archaeological index for the growing power of the Anglo-Saxon elites and their gradually increasing remove from the rest of society. The objects associated with these seventh-century nobles, most famously those gold objects decorated in Style II from Sutton Hoo and more recently the Staffordshire Hoard, are particularly well studied in terms of their political implications.⁶² Analyses of the origins of kingship from fifth- and sixth-century material culture, however, are largely limited to measurements of grave wealth, rather than approaches based on the social context and meanings of material culture. Such accounts, largely explored in the 1980s as part of analytical processual archaeology, indicated a growing disparity between richly and poorly furnished burials, indicative of an increasingly hierarchical society.⁶³ Because these grave wealth approaches reduced culturally rich objects to a score, they are obviously limited in their interpretative scope. Even if we accept that mortuary rituals can represent growing differentials in wealth, this does not provide much insight into the social processes that facilitated the rise of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. However, cruciform brooches of phase C are prominent among the items that occur in these increasingly wealthy graves and understanding these objects in terms of their involvement in production and exchange networks (see previous chapter) can probably enhance our understanding of how ambitious individuals extended their influence. Conversely, understanding the rise of kingdoms through the exchange and display of material culture deepens our understanding of how such political processes operated in more culturally meaningful terms.

The most important thing about the distribution of phase C cruciform brooches is that its westward spread indicates a tendency away from the regionalisation seen among earlier Anglo-Saxon jewellery. Accordingly, the westward pull of phase C cruciform brooches could represent the disintegration of Anglian identity at some point around the mid-sixth century. However, this contradicts our historical understanding. As discussed above, Anglian identity may well have been a construction of the later fifth century, but it certainly did not disappear in the later sixth or even the seventh century. It was only after this period that textual evidence confirms a regionalised ethnic basis, enshrined even today in the names of these regions, such as East Anglia, Wessex, Essex and Sussex. In other words, how can Leeds' 'Anglian brooch *p r excellence*' cease to represent the Anglian zone precisely at the point of the supposed apotheosis of Anglian identity in royal genealogies? It is also important to note that the westward expansion

⁶² E.g. Hedeager 1992; Høilund Nielsen 1999.

⁶³ Typified in Shepherd 1979; Arnold 1988c. Though see Shepherd 1998 for an approach based on iconography.

of cruciform brooches did not encroach on the traditionally Saxon regions dominated by saucer brooches, remaining north of the Thames. Hence, the spread of cruciform brooches into the West Midlands potentially also indicates the assumption of Anglian identity by the progenitors of the Mercian dynasty. After all, we know from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that the first Mercian king Creoda claimed descent from Icel, son of Eomer, the last king of the Angles when they still resided in Angulus in northern Germany. Indeed, though he was more than half a century out, Leeds interpreted this westerly spread as evidence for East Anglian dominance over the West Midlands thanks to the pre-eminence of King Raedwald, only checked in the earlier seventh-century ascendancy of the Mercian King Penda.⁶⁴ The historical specificity of Leeds' account is obviously outmoded but we also now know that the change in cruciform brooch distribution significantly predated these events. Nevertheless, the phase C distribution evidently demonstrates the expansion of characteristically Anglian material into the region that was to become the Mercian heartland.

A more likely explanation than one that entails the disintegration of Anglian identity might suggest instead that the westward dispersal of phase C cruciform brooches represents the weakening of the elite's links with local regions, caused by Anglo-Saxon society moving from community-based political structures to supra-regional ones, eventually leading to formalised kingship. Accordingly, the geographical expansion of cruciform brooches marks the commencement of a more regionally flexible basis of ethnicity, less tied to the ancestral origins and destinations of migrants (the majority of whom would have been in at least their fifth generation), but bound more closely to particular elite individuals with supra-regional fame and influence. In other words, central people began to replace shared regions as the focal points of group identity.

This process of deregionalisation was fully realised in the later sixth and seventh centuries when jewellery typical of the Migration Period, among which cruciform brooches had been prominent, ceased production entirely. The new jewellery types that replaced them were not only rarer, smaller and frequently made from precious materials, but they lacked regionalised distributions entirely.⁶⁵ In a comprehensive survey of this later sixth- and seventh-century jewellery, Helen Geake, incorporating linguistic studies by Patrick Wormald and John Hines, suggested that the seventh century may have seen the emergence of a growing sense of Englishness indicated by emergent commonalities in the languages and dialects spoken within what was to become England.⁶⁶ The idea of a common English language at this early date is contentious. Bede, for instance, even in the first half of the eighth century, wrote of the dialects *lingua Anglorum* and *lingua Saxonica*, regardless of the obvious recognition of an English people in the title of his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. The fact that the heptarchy persisted

⁶⁴ Leeds and Pocock 1971, 15, 23.

⁶⁵ Leeds 1936, 98; Geake 1997, 125; 1999.

⁶⁶ Geake 1997, 126. See Wormald 1983 and Hines 1990.

into the ninth century is an important reminder that Anglo-Saxon England was never really an entirely integrated political entity.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the uniting of various Anglo-Saxon dynasties under a notion of perceived otherness from the continent may indeed have commenced during the seventh century, despite the presence of multiple kingdoms still named after perceived ancestral heritages. If the complete loss of regionalised distinctions in the dress of seventh-century elites represents an important part of this process, then the earlier decline in regionalisation among cruciform brooches may well represent its germ; the first glimpses of an elite class divorced from their immediate community by their desire to draw on connections over much wider geographical scales. Not only did the geographical range of phase C cruciform brooches increase, but they also became far fewer and presumably therefore restricted to a more select group. The women who wore these brooches no longer relied quite so much on a regionalised form of ethnicity, but on one that depended more upon membership of the increasingly exclusive prestige gift exchange relationships outlined in Chapter 4.

The typological analysis in Chapter 2 identified a distinct change in the structuring principles of group 4 cruciform brooches, felt especially keenly among the phase C examples (sub-groups 4.4–4.7). These brooches abandoned the complex mix-and-match structure of groups 2 and 3, assuming fewer, more standard, forms that replicated combinations of design components wholesale. Hence, phase C brooches retreated from the stylistic innovation obvious among early brooches, which was the fundamental driving force behind the whole series. With the benefit of hindsight, it is tempting to suggest that at this point the demise of cruciform brooches was fated and predictable, primarily because acts of personal display, and hence the construction and contestation of ethnic identity, were becoming increasingly exclusive and non-negotiable. In other words, there was less room for individual agency in the production, exchange and display of these brooches, their design being more strictly dictated and limited to singular, specific messages. Perhaps there was also less room for individual agency in the construction of ethnicity. The conservatism of these messages is remarkable considering the preceding series. In addition, while the more localised types encountered in phase B drew connections between adjacent settlements or perhaps small localities, similarities between phase C brooches made comparisons right the way across the country. These adaptations reflect changes in Anglo-Saxon society, in which smaller, more stable elites performed self-aggrandising acts and in so doing gained reputations over wider geographical arenas.⁶⁸

As the sixth century continued, so did the concentration of socio-political control into the hands of fewer individuals. Considering the involvement of exchange mechanisms in the creation of power and value discussed in Chapter 4, it seems elementary for ambitious individuals to appropriate the means of brooch

⁶⁷ For further exploration of these complex issues see Hines 1994, 51.

⁶⁸ Hines 1984, 285. These arguments echo those of Heather regarding Visigothic identity between the fifth and the seventh centuries; see Heather 1996, 284–97.

production and hence further regulate the redistribution of prestige goods. Not only were phase C cruciform brooches increasingly opulent items, but they also still represented an older, time-authenticated tradition. Importantly, these items still conveyed Anglian identity. Therefore, the appropriation of these items by a more restricted elite class represented an appropriation of the past. These elites sought to control the ability to display and therefore possess Anglian identity, tightening their grip on the ethnos. By the mid-sixth century the narrower range of forms indicates that a smaller number of workshops produced cruciform brooches perhaps from an even smaller number of templates, literally about six of them (representing types 4.4.1, 4.5.1, 4.6.1, 4.6.2, 4.7.1 and 4.7.2). It may even have been the case that some of these elite factions, perhaps just the most successful, controlled a single jewellery workshop, which, thanks to the reputation of its patrons, had the ability to distribute its products very widely indeed. Although earlier workshops may have had greater creative freedom, they had less ability to distribute their products widely. Hence, the only standardised designs among earlier brooches, perhaps again the products of only a small number or even single workshops, ended up with relatively tight (compared to phase C) regional restrictions.

Phase C cruciform brooches preceded the major economic developments of the later seventh and the eighth centuries by a long time. Their production does not represent the emergence of specialist trading or production sites by a long stretch, nor does it indicate the emergence of formal kingship as we encounter it in the seventh century. Nevertheless, their changes in distribution and design structure may well represent an important part of a lengthier process in which elites heightened their involvement in craft production as a means of exerting political influence and creating connections between spatially disparate high-status groups. The development of phase C also marks the induction of craftspeople into a more formally politicised world. The items they made represent the beginnings of a more closely managed form of patronage. Together with it, we witness the loss of creativity and enthusiasm for inventive material culture. Brooches were mechanically replicated and their decoration lost its definition and vibrancy, becoming reduced to lines and blocks, just about sufficient to indicate the presence of signs of elite identity, which were by now perhaps all too familiar. Cruciform brooches played an important part in the rise of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. They were among the tools used by ambitious agents, the movers and shakers of the Anglo-Saxon world, to compete against their peers and promulgate an ideology of legitimacy by force and by the social obligations entailed by gift exchange. Just as Anglian ethnicity was partly a material phenomenon, the rise of kingdoms also had fundamentally material roots.

Conclusion

The traditional view that cruciform brooches represented the Angles barely scratches the surface of the socio-political information these items can yield when they are examined in their social, typological, chronological and geographical contexts. The primary shortcoming of the traditional interpretation, long observed and long criticised, is that it presumed the pre-existence of a bounded group of people called Angles, who in fact may have partially formed their identities around particular material traditions, one of the most important of which was the cruciform brooch. The secondary shortcoming of the equation of cruciform brooches with the Angles is that it failed to acknowledge change over time in terms of both the type series and the social developments of the fifth and sixth centuries. Cruciform brooches were at least three different things. They changed dramatically from small, plain pins into massive gilded plates, drenched in elaborate ornament. What we refer to as Anglo-Saxon society was also many different things, developing from a post-Roman milieu of natives and newcomers, into a society dominated by elites who legitimated their positions through an ethnic ideology, the most successful of whom finally formalised their position in their foundation of the Anglo-Saxon royal dynasties. Not only do changes in cruciform brooch design provide insight into these important archaeological and historical developments, but they may also have been integral to them. The mechanisms of production and exchange discussed in the previous chapter help to explain how people and objects interacted to create and maintain social relationships, power structures, value and legitimacy. Hence, it should not be surprising to find that a notion of Anglian identity was at least partially built around these material interactions, just as the heightened prestige of their elite counterparts in the later kingdoms depended at least partly on controlling the production and circulation of items like cruciform brooches. The key to understanding the role of cruciform brooches in early Anglo-Saxon society lies in the idea that ethnicity was neither a primordial nor a purely abstract construction. It was part ideology and part material tradition, combined to create a form of feminine dress not only demonstrative of an elite class but also suggestive of cultural affiliations with an ancestry formed through pseudo-mythological voyages and conquests. This whole ideology fictionalised and built upon actual processes of large-scale migration into parts of post-Roman Britain. Quite how it came to be particular women who bore this material tradition and not men is the subject of the next chapter.

Bearers of Tradition

Only particular women in early Anglo-Saxon society wore cruciform brooches. Upon their death, their mourners buried or cremated many of them deliberately and spectacularly in their full regalia. In so doing, their surviving kin drew persuasive connections between their own social status and that of their deceased wife, mother, sister, daughter, cousin or more distant relative. The women who wore cruciform brooches were therefore a minority capable of standing for a greater whole. By wearing cruciform brooches in life and in death, they bore a material tradition that held considerable importance to their kin group, household or wider community. The fact this costume was part of a tradition incorporating whole swathes of Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, gives lie to its significance. Selected women from these regions wore a range of elaborate bow brooches, items belonging to the same typological genus, but of species differentiated by region. While the previous chapter explored how distinctions arose between these groups, here I am going to discuss the social structures within them. Recalling also from the previous chapter the idea that identity is something people do rather than a quality they intrinsically possess, I would also like to explore the actual media through which identity was enacted, namely the body and its dress. Due to its inestimable centrality to all human experience, the body is inseparable from most aspects of identity. Hence, Anglo-Saxon society sustained internal distinction by accentuating the corporeal differences supplied by biological sex and age with different forms of dress. Not only do we therefore require demographic information concerning the sex and age of cruciform brooch wearers from the skeletal remains of their bodies, we also need to explore the promulgation of their identity through the metallic and textile remains of their costume.

To pursue these lines of enquiry, the present chapter switches focus from the abstracted concepts of typology, chronology, exchange and distribution to the tangible and corporeal environment of the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery. The numerous grave contexts of cruciform brooches permit an unusually rich contextual analysis for a single brooch type. The cemetery also contributes a rich history of scholarship, for Anglo-Saxon burial archaeology is not without its

conceptual difficulties.¹ Grave deposits represent intentional selections of items assembled to convey certain messages to the mourners attending at the graveside, which the archaeologist seeks to decode.² There are some doubts concerning the dependability of grave assemblages as accurate pictures of the deceased's lived social status, the main question being whether they wore these items in life or only in death. There is compelling evidence for early Anglo-Saxon mortuary dress being the costume of the deceased in life, at least in the majority of instances. Not only does the depiction of these costumes in classical sculpture of Germanic dress prove its authenticity and practicality,³ but the high rates of wear and repair discussed in Chapter 4 also indicate everyday use. Additionally, the way that particular costumes relate to various age groups is more likely to represent a lived social structure than dress assemblages thrown together according to ritual circumstance (see below, p. 218).⁴ Although the ritual context complicates the interpretation of cruciform brooches, it also enhances their symbolic currency. As such, cruciform brooches were seemingly inseparable from the personhood of their wearers. Perhaps stripping them of this regalia in death would have denuded them both literally and symbolically. Instead, early Anglo-Saxon mortuary rituals generally sought to preserve personhood. This is self-evident in the furnished inhumation rite. In the cremation rite, the presence of burned dress accessories in the urn indicates that the pyre transformed the body along with its clothing as one. Following cremation, mourners evidently took considerable care to reassemble the skeletal and metallic remains of the individual and their dress, interring them together in the same cinerary urn. Either these objects, having become inalienable and taboo, could not safely survive their owners, or beliefs in the afterlife required that the dead made their final journey wearing clothes they had worn in life, or both. In any case, dress items, perhaps due to their intimacy with bodies, became inseparable from their owners' corporeality as well as their personhood. In some cases, however, it is likely that exceptional items may have been gifts from mourners.⁵ For instance, the special circumstances of the death of a child might have merited gifted items, including protective amulets, weaponry they could never have used and the occasional dress object.⁶ Thinking again about the construction of identity through practice, the funeral ritual itself represents a particularly potent performance.⁷ The early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, with its rich deposits of weaponry, jewellery and other valuable items, made an ideal

¹ For summaries see Richards 1987, 10–14; Härke 1997b, 19–21; Lucy 1998, 5–20. Ravn 2003, 93–5.

² Härke 1997b; Härke 1997c.

³ For examples, see Owen-Crocker 2004, 44–50.

⁴ See also Stoodley 1999; 2000; Gowland 2006; Walton Rogers 2007a, 241–2.

⁵ See King 2004.

⁶ For examples, see Härke 1990, 36; Crawford 1993, 85.

⁷ On the spectacle of Anglo-Saxon funerals and the creation of social memory see Williams 2004; 2006.

arena for the conspicuous performance of status and identity.⁸ Focusing on burial as an identity-forming practice additionally emphasises identity as something constructed not just by the self, but also by others. Burial, given the complete lack of agency from the deceased, makes explicit these links between individual and group status as well as the illogicality of defining these separately. Hence, funeral rituals help us to understand how these women came to bear the material traditions of entire status groups.

Early Anglo-Saxon Dress

One of the foremost means by which human society creates distinction is through dress.⁹ The elaborate and varied nature of early Anglo-Saxon feminine dress facilitated many such nuances. It was composed of layers of garments fastened by various kinds of brooches and clasps, buckles, belts and girdles as well as strings of beads and other pendants. A belted or girdled waist not only gave the costume shape and practicality, but it could also suspend keys, girdle-hangers, purses and knives. The more durable, generally metal, accessories among these tend to survive relatively frequently in excavated graves. The garments themselves, however, do not. Only the painstaking analysis of the traces of textile that occasionally adhere to metallic dress accessories permits their reconstruction, which is notoriously difficult. Actual textile survives only very rarely. More commonly, the mineral salts that leach out of metallic items are absorbed by nearby textiles, which, once decomposed, leave casts of these solidified corrosive products. Alternatively, the impression of a textile can survive on the corroded surface of a brooch, or more likely on the iron spring mechanism on its reverse (see, for instance, Plate 8.1). Because women's dress often consisted of layers with different accessories sandwiched between them, an idea of the complete costume can be assembled from the various remains adhering to each accessory. For instance, a brooch with a different textile on its front and reverse suggests that it fastened an inner garment. One with the same textile on both sides may have just been located in the fold of a single garment. Of course, to identify the garment a brooch fastened with any certainty, we must be able to see the pin passing through it, which occurs only rarely. Frequently the specialist has to make an informed judgement according to the evidence at their disposal. Evidence from textile analysis is therefore often ambiguous and rarely straightforward.¹⁰

⁸ Much has been written on this subject, but for some important examples, see Pader 1982; Richards 1987; Härke 1990; 1997d; Lucy 1998; Stoodley 1999; Ravn 2003.

⁹ For wider discussion, see Turner 1980; Joyce 2005, 142–3.

¹⁰ I have drawn all the evidence considered here from published reports, including Penelope Walton Rogers' useful online database, see Walton Rogers 2007b.



Figure 52. Typical feminine garments fastened by brooches. Left: *peplos* dress; middle: single-fastened cloak; right: dual-fastened cloak.

Nevertheless, work in this area has established the range of broadly standard costume ensembles that women wore in the early Anglo-Saxon period.¹¹ The most common component of feminine dress throughout much of Migration Period Europe was the *peþos* dress. This was a sleeveless tubular garment pulled up over the shoulders and fastened there with a pair of brooches (Figure 52, left). Accordingly, a pair of brooches located somewhere around the shoulders or slightly lower down indicates the presence of a *peþos* dress in a grave. *Peþos* dresses occur in about 60–80 per cent of adult female graves in early Anglo-Saxon England.¹² Of course, the remaining 20–40 per cent of adult women may well have worn similar garments fastened by less durable means. Beneath the *peþos* dress, some women wore a sleeved dress. This is especially obvious in the Anglian region due to the frequent presence in graves of little clasps found at the wrists for fastening cuffs. Textile analysis comparing the material adhering to these wrist-clasps and *peþos* fasteners indicates that they fastened two separate garments, the *peþos* most often woven from wool, the sleeved undergarment from linen.¹³ Another brooch occasionally fastened the neck opening of this undergarment. Over the top of the *peþos* dress, often constituting at least a third layer, some women wore a cloak, which might also have incorporated a hood.¹⁴ Cloaks had two standard forms. A single brooch at the neck or upper chest fastened the most common variety (Figure 52, centre). A second much less frequently encountered version had its vertical edges pinned to the garment beneath it by a pair of brooches on either side of the mid-chest region (Figure 52, right). Though this latter garment does not have a standard name in the existing literature, I distinguish it here with the term ‘dual-fastened cloak’. Penelope Walton Rogers also presents new evidence for an additional type of garment she calls a ‘mantle dress’, an item lying somewhere between a *peþos* and cloak, being a large square of material wrapped around the body and fastened on just one shoulder worn either on top of a *peþos* or directly over the sleeved undergarment. Because metallic dress fasteners rarely occur in the region of the head, we do not possess much evidence for headgear, but it probably included veils, scarves and hoods. Occasionally a small pin or brooch around the upper chest region may indicate such a garment.

Although textile evidence is available for many cruciform brooches, it rarely provides definitive answers. Consequently, in the analysis below I employ textile evidence to help solve ambiguous cases only. The most widely available evidence for costume reconstruction comes from the position of brooches on the skeleton in a grave. For the majority of graves this provides the most reliable information for costume and it is the primary evidence employed in the discussion below.

¹¹ For excellent accounts of these as well as masculine dress, see Owen-Crocker 2004; Walton Rogers 2007a.

¹² Walton Rogers 2007a, 144.

¹³ Owen-Crocker 2004, 297; Walton Rogers 2007a, 170. For more on early medieval textiles see Jørgensen 1987; 1991.

¹⁴ Owen-Crocker 2004, 75.

Because of the limited number of standard arrangements, whether the brooches were in pairs on the shoulders (generally feet pointing upwards) or singly and centrally on the chest or neck is often sufficient to distinguish between *þ þ os* dresses and cloaks respectively. A pair of brooches with their feet pointing downward located on either side of the central torso indicates a dual-fastened cloak. Unfortunately, this is usually only a reliable method when the body is supine. If the body lies on its side, the brooches tend to bunch together or fall down in a single, indistinguishable group. A major problem with defining the position of the body in the grave can therefore be bone survival. However, where preservation is especially poor, dress accessories themselves can sometimes provide the best evidence for the original body position. Additionally, taphonomic processes, including the decay and collapse of the body, can cause brooches to shift subsequent to their burial. Double burials also present a risk of confusion, because they were not always contemporary and the second body often disturbed the first. Finally, even when textile evidence and a grave plan are lacking, one can occasionally make an educated guess from knowledge of the standard uses of brooches in their various combinations. The account below uses only the most secure grave contexts, excluding all cases of possible post-depositional disturbance and non-scientifically recorded graves. Nevertheless, with the standard uses of cruciform brooches established by the end of this analysis, it is possible to infer the most likely uses of even metal-detected or antiquarian finds.

The Garments Fastened by Cruciform Brooches

Cruciform brooches fastened a limited range of costumes. With an almost negligible number of exceptions, these included *þ þ os* dresses, cloaks and dual-fastened cloaks. Because individuals frequently wore more than one garment fastened with cruciform brooches, rather than approaching the following account grave by grave, I shall outline the evidence for each of these three garments in turn. The current corpus includes cruciform brooches from 305 excavated grave assemblages. However, many of these are from poorly recorded excavations, especially those discovered in the nineteenth or earlier twentieth centuries, which includes many of the big cemeteries, such as Holywell Row, Little Wilbraham and Sleaford. In order to ensure reliability, I have only utilised the most secure grave contexts as described above. Of these 305, only 131 have available grave plans. Furthermore, many of these do not offer complete, pristine graves, but have been disturbed in the ancient or more recent past, such as by the insertion of later burials into the same grave. In the case of double burials, the only examples to have been included are those where the assemblages and skeletons appear undisturbed and therefore probably contemporary. Also excluded are those examples where the brooch was not worn as it was usually, but had been use-adapted into serving some other function (see above, pp. 136–40). Removing these potentially unreliable contexts leaves 113 graves from which to work.

The role of the cruciform brooch in early Anglo-Saxon dress has been considered previously, though not without some minor misconceptions and over-generalisations.¹⁵ For instance, Gale Owen-Crocker suggests that the *þ þ os* dress (see below) in the Anglian region was usually fastened with cruciform brooches and that cruciform brooches used to fasten cloaks were limited to group 4 types.¹⁶ Penelope Walton Rogers reached comparable conclusions, suggesting that while group 1 and 2 cruciform brooches fastened *þ þ os* dresses, groups 3 and 4 fastened cloaks.¹⁷ While there is some basis for both of these statements, the data now assembled reveals that the situation was not this straightforward. The transition between cruciform brooches as *þ þ os* and cloak fasteners actually lay at a very early stage within group 2, precisely at the transition between phases A and B. In other words, the majority of group 2 cruciform brooches were actually used to fasten cloaks. There are only a very small number of *þ þ os*-fastening cruciform brooches that demonstrably belong in phase B.

The most common use of cruciform brooches was as single cloak fasteners, pinned centrally at the neck or slightly lower down on the upper chest. Where a single cruciform brooch occurs in a grave toward the upper centre of a torso, with a pair of identical brooches (usually small long or annular brooches) distributed one each on either side, the most likely reconstruction is a cloak fastened under the chin, worn over a *þ þ os* dress that was fastened on each shoulder (or thereabouts). This arrangement occurred in sixty-seven of the 113 graves (59 per cent). The *þ þ os* fasteners in these examples varied, including annular brooches (forty-four cases), small long brooches (fifteen cases), additional cruciform brooches (seven cases), openwork swastika brooches (two cases), disc brooches (two cases, one of which included applied disc brooches) and 'Anglian' equal-arm brooches (one case).¹⁸ Forty-seven of these sixty-seven assemblages (70 per cent) also included wrist-clasps, indicating the presence of a sleeved undergarment and hence at least three layers of clothing. The orientation of cruciform brooches worn as single cloak fasteners varied widely, which should be expected considering the various manners in which such a cloak could be worn and might shift around (e.g. Figure 52, centre). Nevertheless, horizontal orientations were favoured over vertical ones and there is a slight tendency toward having the foot pointing to the left shoulder, perhaps explained by the way in which a right-handed individual might push the pin through the fabric from their right-hand side.¹⁹ This obviously differs from the most frequent orientation of *þ þ os* fasteners, which were generally worn with the foot pointing upwards, whether they were cruciform or small long brooches.

¹⁵ See, for instance, Crowfoot 1985, 54; Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 39; Walton Rogers 1998, 278; 1999, 155; 2007a, 167, 171; 2009, 67; Owen-Crocker 2004, 39.

¹⁶ Owen-Crocker 2004, 55, 71.

¹⁷ Walton Rogers 2007a, 145.

¹⁸ So-called 'Anglian' equal-arm brooches are undecorated bow brooches with an identical triangular head-plate and foot-plate. Due to this shape they are also sometimes called 'bowtie' brooches.

¹⁹ See Martin 2014 for a more detailed exploration.

Two of these graves containing single cruciform brooches alongside a pair of shoulder brooches included a fourth annular brooch, in both cases lying centrally but slightly below the cruciform brooch (Broughton Lodge grave 3, Sewerby grave 35). Neither case yields any particularly useful textile evidence. It is possible that these extra brooches provided further attachment for the *þ þ os* to the sleeved undergarment, or they may have slipped down from fastening the neck of this latter item.²⁰ They might also have fastened a head covering that hung down over the torso.

Graves containing cloak-fastening cruciform brooches occur across the core phase B and C regions (i.e. Figure 50), unsurprisingly concentrated in East Anglia, Lincolnshire and the East Midlands, with no apparent further regional preferences within this zone. The types of cruciform brooch used to fasten cloaks in this manner include all major group 2, 3 and 4 types with no obvious absences or particularly dominant types, excepting perhaps the near absence of specifically early type 2.1.1 brooches and any brooches from group 1. Only two of these primitive variants of type 2.1.1 fastened cloaks, from graves 346 and 362 at Morning Thorpe. Perhaps it is notable that both examples are from the same cemetery. Both brooches were also evidently well used before their deposition. While the brooch from grave 346 is missing part of its foot, already repaired once, the yarn and broken pin mechanism on the example from grave 362 was probably tied rather than pinned onto a garment. The striking similarity of these two brooches may even raise the intriguing possibility that they were once a pair used to fasten a single *þ þ os* dress, as these earlier cruciform brooches often were (see below, pp. 200–1). Perhaps more likely, both at some point lost their partner and subsequently were used to fasten cloaks instead. These two exceptions are therefore important because they potentially represent the moment at which fashions in cruciform brooch use altered from being *þ þ os* fasteners to cloak fasteners. Overall, use as a single cloak fastener, worn over a *þ þ os* dress and frequently also a sleeved undergarment, seems to have been the dominant use of cruciform brooches throughout phases B and C regardless of specific type.

Further to these sixty-seven unambiguous cloak-fastening cruciform brooches, there are ten further examples where the shoulder brooches do not match. Two of these pairs include very unusual fasteners including a Roman brooch (West Heslerton grave 12) and a penannular brooch (West Heslerton grave 147) paired with a small long and annular brooch respectively. Two more graves pair a disc brooch with a small long brooch (Barrington A grave 13b, Oakington grave 10). Wakerley grave 74 pairs an applied saucer brooch with a small long brooch and West Heslerton grave 143 pairs an annular and a disc brooch. The final four graves pair annular and small long brooches (Broughton Lodge grave 61, Sewerby grave 57, Snape grave 14, Wakerley grave 32). From the distribution of these assemblages in the grave, with the cruciform set between two non-matching

²⁰ See, for instance, Owen-Crocker 2004, 44; Walton Rogers 2007a, 155.

shoulder brooches, it seems clear that they represent a cloak fastened by a cruciform brooch worn over a *þ þ os* dress with non-matching brooches. The textile analysis from both West Heslerton graves confirms this.²¹ Snape grave 14, which pairs an annular and a small long brooch, has its cruciform brooch located up by the head, evidently moved there by taphonomic processes. The woman in grave 57 at Sewerby, who paired an annular with a small long brooch, was lying prone, face down in the grave. Therefore, the apparent location of both an annular brooch and a cruciform brooch on the left shoulder is probably a result of her unusual position causing the brooches to shift unpredictably. Nevertheless, given the probability that the other graves with non-matching shoulder brooches represented *þ þ os* dresses, we might assume the same for this one.

A further four graves contained just a cruciform brooch with no additional dress fasteners. In three of these examples, the cruciform brooch lay toward the left shoulder. However, in Cleatham grave 62 there was insufficient skeletal material to judge where the brooch lay, though it looks fairly central. According to Penelope Walton Rogers, a brooch worn singly on a shoulder sometimes indicates a special version of the *þ þ os* dress fastened on just one side.²² However, given that the typological range of these three brooches (types 2.1.1, 3.2.2, 4.3.2, 4.4) is far more typical of the cloak-fastening brooches discussed above, it seems somewhat more likely that they represent cloaks worn over garments that did not require brooches. The wrist-clasps in two of these graves, for instance, indicate the presence of sleeved dresses.

Dual-fastened cloaks provided a much less frequent use for cruciform brooches. There are only eight examples in the sample of this particularly elaborate costume ensemble, six of which additionally featured a single-fastened cloak. Most of the time, therefore, the dual-fastened cloak was worn in addition to several other garments, over the top of at least two other layers and probably more, which might lead us to think of it more as an over-cloak. These are the most elaborate of early Anglo-Saxon costumes and more often than not include at least five brooches fastening various garments in addition to other dress accessories. Though dual- and single-fastened cloaks shrouded the shoulder brooches beneath them, the dual-fastened cloak, at least in the manner that Penelope Walton Rogers reconstructs it, probably had an opening down the front that could reveal a third cruciform brooch fastening a cloak at the neck, if it was present. All of the cruciform brooches that pin these dual-fastened cloaks are very large and worn with the foot downwards, an orientation which usefully distinguishes them both from *þ þ os*-fastening bow brooches (worn foot upwards) and cloak-fastening bow brooches (generally worn more horizontally). Dual-fastened cloaks were always pinned around the mid-chest region and were always identical pairs, which has perhaps in the past led to the mistaken belief that even these late cruciform brooches could be *þ þ os* fasteners. However, this was almost never

²¹ Walton Rogers 1999, 159, 168.

²² Walton Rogers 2007a, 152.

the case and their typological range is the same as that for the single-fastened cloak cruciform brooches, representing the major group 2, 3 and 4 types. Hence, identical pairs of these large brooches, whether they are from known contexts or not, were most likely used to pin these over-cloaks.²³ Dual-fastened cloaks have the same approximate geographical distribution as the standard cloak.

The earlier use of cruciform brooches seems to have been for fastening *þ þ os* dresses. Of the 113 secure contexts, fifteen (13 per cent) contained examples of *þ þ os* dresses fastened by pairs of cruciform brooches. Identical pairs of cruciform brooches fastened thirteen of these, whilst very close approximations of pairs fastened the remaining two. *Peþ os*-fastening cruciform brooches are identified in a grave primarily by their position relatively high up the torso or near the shoulders. The position of these brooches generally makes their use unambiguous and the evidence from the textile remains is not sufficient in any of these cases to make an argument to the contrary. Among the most interesting aspects of these cruciform brooch-fastened *þ þ os* dresses is the fact that only seven of them did not occur underneath a cloak also fastened by a cruciform brooch. Furthermore, almost all the assemblages lacking evidence for a cloak fall outside the core phase B Anglian zone, with the exception only of grave 25 from Wakerley, but including Mucking and Springfield Lyons in Essex and Wasperton in Warwickshire. To these examples from outside the core region we might also add some less securely recorded early looking pairs, including those from grave 70 at Alveston Manor (also Warwickshire, #193 and #242) and two pairs from Bifrons (grave 15, #1348–1349) and Howletts (unnumbered grave, #1373–1374) in Kent. Conversely, the individuals who wore both *þ þ os* dresses and cloaks fastened by cruciform brooches were all from the core regions of East Anglia (Snape, Spong Hill, Morning Thorpe, Westgarth Gardens) and Lincolnshire (Cleatham, Tallington). Therefore, if an individual dwelt in the core Anglian region and already wore a *þ þ os* dress fastened by cruciform brooches, it was more than likely they would also be in possession of a cloak fastened by a cruciform brooch. As we shall see below (p. 201), it is likely that this cloak was gained later in life. If they lived outside the core region, they would not. Consequently, this patterning indicates the tight regionalisation of the cruciform brooch as a cloak fastener, but not as a *þ þ os* fastener. This provides another reminder confirming the practice-based nature of identity. Anglian identity did not reside within cruciform brooches, but was a product of human–object interaction. Cloaks seem to have been an important part of this dressed performance.²⁴

This patterning is also of chronological significance. Most of the cruciform brooches that fastened *þ þ os* dresses were exceptionally primitive examples of sub-group 2.1. They were small and broad and had separately cast side-knobs.

²³ There is only one exception to this, from Mucking I grave 92, where a pair of type 3.2.4 brooches fastened a *þ þ os* dress, discussed below, p. 201.

²⁴ See also Hakenbeck 2007, 23–4 on the different ways of wearing the same brooch and its potential significance to regional and local identities in early medieval Bavaria.

Overall, they were very similar to type 1.2.2. In some cases, drawing a line between the types is splitting hairs. Most date to the transitional moment between phases A and B, which likely fell somewhere around AD 475. The only obvious exception is a pair of type 3.2.4 brooches from grave 92 at Mucking I in Essex (#780–781). Though this example falls outside the core Anglian region, it provides further evidence that type 3.2.4 was indeed relatively early in phase B, as I suggested in Chapter 3 (see p. 126). The pair of type 2.2.2 brooches from grave 353 at Morning Thorpe (#439–440) might also be a little later, but nothing about them necessitates a particularly late date, being worn with a member of the earliest type with group 4 (see above, p. 101). The two brooches from Wakerley grave 25 are not a pair, but among sub-group 2.2 brooches both look relatively early (no moulded brows, no trapezoid head-plate wings). Again, the pair of cruciform brooches put to this purpose in grave 22 at Spong Hill (#504–505), though nominally of type 2.2.3 due to their spiral nostrils, actually bear close formal resemblance to those primitive members of sub-group 2.1. The broad impression from cruciform brooches used to fasten *peplos* dresses is that most were very early in phase B, if not late in phase A.

The logical outcome of the chronology of these brooches is that in all cases where a cloak-fastening cruciform brooch formed part of the ensemble, it was of a demonstrably advanced typological form, probably indicative of a later date.²⁵ For instance, in grave 30 at Cleatham all three cruciform brooches that fastened cloaks were of type 3.2.1, in comparison with the very early looking *p p os* fasteners of type 2.1.2. In grave 41 from the same cemetery a similar pair of type 2.1.2 brooches fastened a *p p os* dress, worn beneath a cloak fastened by a more advanced type 2.1.3 brooch. Once again, at grave 10 at Snape the cloak fastener was a relatively advanced type 3.2.7 brooch. Further still, grave 2 at Spong Hill it was of type 3.2.4, whilst at grave 61, Westgarth Gardens the cloak fastener belonged to type 3.1.1. Finally, in Morning Thorpe grave 90 with the potentially slightly later type 2.2.2 *p p os* fasteners, the cloak fastener was an obviously even more advanced type 4.1.1 cruciform brooch. Although none of these cloak fasteners was dramatically older than the *p p los* fasteners – none of the combinations spans phases B and C for instance – they all safely belong within phase B. The implication therefore is that these garments were accumulated gradually, from the inner garments outwards, through the course of these women's lives (see also below, p. 223). It happens to be the case that the lives of these particular women spanned the transition in cruciform brooch use from *p p os* fasteners to cloak fasteners.

If this were the case, then we might expect an individual who wore just a *p p os* dress fastened by cruciform brooches to have died at a relatively young age before she had been able to obtain a cloak. Unfortunately, such age data is not forthcoming.²⁶ Perhaps the crucial factor here in any case is to do with region. As explained

²⁵ The full data is provided in Martin forthcoming.

²⁶ The only individual with available age data is from grave 167 at Wasperton, who had an estimated age of over eighteen, which is not especially useful either way.

above, living within the core Anglian region predicted the subsequent gaining of a cloak fastened by a cruciform brooch. Hence, perhaps these providentially placed individuals not only indicate the moment at which cruciform brooches began to be used on cloaks, but also the moment at which cruciform brooches began to be used as explicit symbols of Anglian identity.

Returning to the varieties of dress assemblages, a number of them do not fit these three standard usages. These include instances where the cruciform brooch was apparently paired with other types of brooch. It was suggested above that pairs of non-matching brooches may have fastened a single *þ þ os* dress. The alternative is that they were not truly paired as such, but fastened two separate garments: a one-shouldered *þ þ os* dress on one shoulder and a mantle dress (see above) on the other.²⁷ In the absence of definitive textile evidence where the brooches clearly pinned different fabrics, we must take what we can from the positions of the brooches. For instance, if one of the brooches was actually pinned closer to the neck than the shoulder, the assemblage may well represent a standard cloak worn over a one-shouldered *þ þ os* dress.

In the seven assemblages that pair a cruciform brooch with an annular brooch (and the body was supine), the positions of the brooches indicate that they probably did not fasten the same garment. For instance, in grave 81 at Empingham II and graves 63 and 84 at Norton, the cruciform brooch was closer to the centre of the body. In grave 22 at Norton, the crouched nature of the burial makes the position of the brooches difficult to define, but the textile evidence indicates the cruciform brooch pinned two garments simultaneously, perhaps a cloak/mantle to the *þ þ os* dress beneath it, fastened by the annular brooch on the other shoulder.²⁸ In grave 2 at Easington the lack of any skeletal material makes any interpretation problematic, but the three separate fabrics indicated by the textile analysis suggest a more complex costume ensemble than just a *þ þ os* worn over a sleeved dress. Only in graves 58 at Spong Hill and 91 at Empingham II is it likely the cruciform brooch lay on a shoulder. Textile evidence is lacking at Empingham II, but in the Spong Hill grave different textiles were found around the annular and cruciform brooch. Though inconclusive, this at least suggests more than one garment was present. Perhaps in these latter cases the individual wore a mantle dress fastened by a cruciform brooch on one shoulder and a *þ þ os* dress on the other.

The apparent pairing of cruciform brooches with small long brooches occurs on nine occasions and for these the evidence is more ambiguous. Grave 9 at Cleatham and probably grave 4 at Oakington both show a more centrally located cruciform brooch, indicative of their potential use to fasten cloaks worn over a *þ þ os* secured by the small long brooch located more towards the shoulder. Grave 93 at Barrington A, however, has the opposite arrangement, with a small long brooch worn more centrally and a cruciform brooch closer to the shoulder.

²⁷ For examples, see Walton Rogers 2007a, 153.

²⁸ Walton 1992, 59.

This is the only convincing example in which a cruciform brooch probably fastened a one-shouldered *p p os* dress. The unusual relative sizes of the large small long brooch and the small cruciform brooch in this grave might support this theory. The other six occurrences of apparently paired cruciform and small long brooches potentially represent non-matching *p p os* fasteners. The orientation of the brooches might provide clues, given that brooches with the foot upwards usually fastened *p p os* dresses. Indeed, the small long and cruciform brooch in Wasperton grave 111 both had their feet pointing upwards and the textile evidence clearly indicates they fastened the same woollen twill. Grave 36 at Cleatham is very similar, as both brooches are on the shoulders pointing upwards. The two brooches in grave 55 at Westgarth Gardens were also on the shoulders with the feet pointing upwards. All the cruciform brooches involved in these pairings are also quite primitive looking, and would easily fit into the stylistic range described above that was normally worn in pairs fastening *p p os* dresses. In grave 84 at West Heslerton, however, both brooches were oriented with their feet downward. This is an anomalous example and the textile evidence does not help, but it may simply represent a *p p os* dress fastened in an unusual manner. Grave 12 at Sewerby and grave 6 at Bergh Apton were part of a more complex ensemble. Both involved a dual-fastened cloak fastened by a pair of cruciform brooches and underneath this a pairing of a cruciform and small long brooch on the shoulders. The textile evidence at Sewerby indicates that all three cruciform brooches fastened the same fabric, perhaps to be expected given that the dual-fastened cloak had to be pinned to whatever lay beneath it. Perhaps these two examples once again represent true cruciform brooch and small long pairings used to fasten *p p os* dresses.

Finally, there are two unusual pairings of cruciform brooches with a Roman brooch in grave 26 at Spong Hill and with an applied saucer brooch in grave 20 at Oakington. In the latter grave, the cruciform brooch was closer to the chin, indicating that it fastened a cloak. The position of the brooches at Spong Hill is unclear, but the textile evidence indicates they fastened different fabrics. Because the cruciform brooch was horizontal, we might conclude that it fastened a cloak.

Most of the time these apparent pairings of cruciform brooches with other types of brooch did not represent true pairs used to fasten the same *p p os* dress. Rather, they probably represent a cruciform brooch fastening a cloak or mantle worn over a one-shouldered *p p os* dress. Nevertheless, there are still six potential examples where cruciform and small long brooches apparently formed true pairs. None of these, however, involved demonstrably larger and later cruciform brooches. Because small long and cruciform brooches were very closely related forms, the relatively small and simple cruciform brooches generally put to this purpose are not dramatically different from them. However, although these cruciform brooches were relatively basic examples, few of them, aside from the example from grave 36 at Cleatham, are as demonstrably early as those discussed above apparently intended for use as *p p os* fasteners. Accordingly, these

odd pairings may well represent acts of opportunism involving the loss of one member of a small long brooch pair and its replacement with a cruciform brooch that was broadly similar in shape and size.

To summarise this necessarily complex account, in order of frequency, cruciform brooches fastened standard cloaks (ninety-six examples, 85 per cent of the graves in the secure sample), *p plos* dresses (twenty-one examples, 19 per cent), dual-fastened cloaks (eight examples, 7 per cent) and very occasionally mantle-dresses (two examples, 2 per cent).²⁹ Though a number of the examples discussed above are ambiguous, the chronological trends are clear: *p plos*-fastening cruciform brooches generally predated those used for fastening cloaks. The transition between these uses occurred at about the same time as the surge in cruciform brooch popularity and the crystallisation of their regional distribution in the east. Consequently, a link between this change in use and their becoming signifiers of Anglian identity is likely, occurring at some point in the final quarter of the fifth century AD.

There is one major shortcoming in the above analysis, which is the lack of typical phase A brooches from any of the secure contexts from the core Anglian region.³⁰ While we might assume that these earliest cruciform brooches fastened *p plos* dresses in pairs, as many probably did in northern Germany,³¹ there is a distinct lack of group 1 pairs from England from secure contexts or otherwise. The lost wax casting method probably used during phase A may well account for the lack of exact pairs, as it did not easily facilitate replication (see above, p. 000). Consequently, perhaps there was no desire for necessarily identical pairs at this early stage. A handful of less securely recorded graves containing single phase A brooches is known from the Anglian region that were excluded from the above sample, namely grave 28 at Fonaby, grave 66 at Sleaford (both Lincolnshire), grave 17 at Nassington (Northamptonshire) and grave 7 at Glaston (Rutland). Furthermore, there are probable pairs of phase A brooches from Rudston, Yorkshire (#138–139) and possibly also St John's, Cambridge (#35–36), though we lack records for these ones altogether. Meanwhile outside the core area, Kent and Essex offer two pairs of Kentish phase A cruciform brooches, probably worn as *p plos* fasteners, from the relatively reliable contexts of grave 15 at Bifrons and grave 4988 at Springfield Lyons. To these peripheral examples can be added an unmatched pair of cruciform brooches from grave 122 at Abingdon (type 1.1.1 and what was probably a sub-group 2.2 brooch, now fragmented) and a pair of type 1.2.2 brooches from an unnumbered grave at Frilford, both outside the core region in Oxfordshire. The absence of grave plans and at the most summarily recorded

²⁹ These percentages exceed 100 per cent because many of these securely recorded graves included more than one garment fastened by cruciform brooches.

³⁰ With the exception of the nominally but probably later type 1.1.1 brooch from Cleatham grave 9 (see above, p. 202) and the fragmented cruciform brooch foot from grave 156 at Castledyke South, which did not pin a garment but was worn by some other means (above, p. 137).

³¹ For the use of cruciform and related brooches in the northern Germanic world, see Böhme 1974, 161; Rau 2010, 161

grave assemblages for all of the above do not permit any definitive statements, but at least we know that the examples from Sleaford and Nassington were probably paired with small long or annular brooches.³² The type 1.1.1 brooch from Abingdon was paired with another probably later cruciform brooch, which again indicates the potentially longevity of this type (see above, p. 101, note 19). Paired brooches of different types fastening single *þ þ os* dresses were not an uncommon arrangement in the fourth and fifth century on the continent and this may be the best context in which to situate some of these early brooches.³³ Others among these phase A brooches may have been identical *þ þ os* pairings, or at least similar ones (Bifrons, Frilford, Rudston, Springfield Lyons, St John's).

Unfortunately, the evidence from cremation cemeteries, which offer the majority of secure phase A contexts, is not reliable thanks to the destructive nature of the process. The fragmentation of burnt brooches makes it difficult to know how many cruciform brooches are represented in each urn, let alone how many were originally on the pyre. At least one cremation from Spong Hill (number 1468) certainly included two cruciform brooches. However, they were not identical and may not even have been worn together given the fact that one of them is apparently undamaged by the pyre. Although the available evidence is not yet sufficient to be entirely dependable, from the English and continental evidence it seems likely either that phase A cruciform brooches were generally worn as non-identical pairs or that they were paired with other types of brooch to fasten *þ þ os* dresses. During the A/B transition phase there was a short-lived period when identical pairs of cruciform brooches fastened *þ þ os* dresses. This was common to the core eastern cruciform brooch regions as well as Kent and the West Midlands (Warwickshire). It is highly intriguing therefore that these peripheral regions did not make the transition from using cruciform brooches to fasten *þ þ os* dresses to using them to fasten cloaks.

Bodily Identities

Cruciform brooches were evidently such an integral part of the dressed body that often the two became inseparable even in death. We might envisage corporeality as a symbolic quality, extending outward beyond the skin and imparting intimately bodily and ultimately inalienable qualities to personal garments and jewellery.³⁴ While Roberta Gilchrist and Jos Bazelmans have both addressed the role of the male body and weaponry in Anglo-Saxon graves, the female body remains a relatively unexplored subject in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology.³⁵ The

³² While the example from Fonaby seems to have been accompanied by a small iron annular brooch or buckle, the one from Sleaford was accompanied by an annular and 'spade-shaped' brooch (most likely a small long brooch) and the one from Nassington found with a small long brooch.

³³ See, for instance Böhme 1974, 7–14.

³⁴ See Thomas 2002, 41; Joyce 2005, 142.

³⁵ Gilchrist 1997, 47–50; Bazelmans 2002.

study of gender, as opposed to sex, in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology is heavily predicated upon a constructivist paradigm. In other words, while traditional scholarship approaches gender as a constructed, artificial edifice, sex is often treated as an essential quality inhering in human bodies. However, gender is not removable like a brooch or a cloak. Like sex, it is also deeply rooted in perceptions of the body. Gender does not inhere in the brooch, but rather in the body that the brooch, garments and flesh together constitute. Constructing gender and sex are parallel processes because they both ultimately rely on the body.³⁶

In order to shed some light on the idea or even ideal of the feminine body in the fifth and sixth centuries, we should consider how anatomy itself was envisaged as a constellation of differently valued parts and regions. For instance, the *þ þ os*, the standard garb of adult women, would have accentuated the shoulders as focal points. Wearing a cloak over this, however, not only enlarges the body as a whole, but also covers these former focal points. The brooches that secured cloaks created new focal points on the central and upper chest. In this context, those costumes where the *þ þ os* was fastened by older cruciform brooches represent ideal examples of the gradually maturing body symbolised by sequential dress ensembles, constituting a series of garments that could be read as a biographical text (see above, p. 201). It is likely that locations on the body, such as the shoulders and the chest, became focal points of sexual identification, as the same locations were not emphasised in masculine dress. Their shifting location with age may well have indicated changing ideas of maturing sexuality. Though women probably did not wear these substantial cloaks all year round, their consistent presence in graves suggests they became vital symbols of these women's bodily identities.

Gendered dressing, however, is not purely about the passive display and casual observation of symbols. Manners of dress affect bodily movements. Marcel Mauss was the first to observe how individuals learn to use their bodies differently according to observation and tuition, including, for instance, methods of walking, standing, sitting and sleeping.³⁷ The impracticality of some aspects of early Anglo-Saxon dress provides a good illustration of the alteration of an individual's interactions with the world through clothing. Re-enactors have observed that, although the *þ þ os* dress was a practical and comfortable garment, the sleeved dress fastened with wrist-clasps was uncomfortable as well as impractical for activities such as weaving.³⁸ Of course, this is anecdotal evidence from modern re-enactors who have learnt to move in modern clothing, which may well have exacerbated this discomfort. Then again, we might also envisage that the whole point in wrist-clasps was to make it possible to roll sleeves up or down depending on the task at hand. It is also true that many of those largest group 4 brooches would have been very heavy, too heavy in fact to fasten a garment

³⁶ On this see Nordbladh and Yates 1990, 223; Yates 1994, 48.

³⁷ Mauss 1979 (originally published 1935). See also Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002, 7–9.

³⁸ Owen-Crocker 2004, 59.

without also pulling it away from the body.³⁹ High rates of wear and repair (see Chapter 4) indicate that these large, impractical brooches were part of the daily experience of the women who wore them. Finding ways to wear brooches that avoided damaging them also seems to have been difficult, considering the amount of knocks that many of them have taken. These were not items treated with an inordinate amount of care but were seemingly worn as a permanent part of clothing and hence probably accompanied these women through the daily round of activities. Ultimately, wearing clothes symbolic of feminine adulthood must have guided an initiate into feeling, acting and being treated as such. This is a very simple point, but it is fundamental. Its neglect partly explains why traditional accounts of Anglo-Saxon brooches treat them in such a thoroughly decontextualised manner as the passive indicators of identity. Instead, these items constituted the media through which certain aspects of identity were performed, observed and imitated.

It is impossible to say how much wearing cruciform brooches and substantial cloaks altered the movements of the body. Both single-fastened and dual-fastened cloaks are relatively practical garments and although the latter appears restrictive, it is in fact quite comfortable. However, relative to *þ þ os* dresses, both these garments would have limited movement to some extent. They were probably quite bulky and would have been draped over an elbow or shoulder in order to carry out dextrous work. Some of these garments may also have covered the head, restricting the woman's vision as well as her visibility. In fact, this covering up of the body may have been one of the most important aspects of wearing cruciform brooches. These cumulative layers of clothing not only increased the volume of the dressed body, but also screened its corporeality behind layers of textile and jewellery. This makes an interesting contrast to masculine dress, which displayed far more of the body through trousers or leggings and smaller sleeved tunics or jackets, allowing almost full visibility of all limbs and movements.⁴⁰ The body beneath these women's cloaks became increasingly screened, its movements and gesticulations less obvious. This provides an intriguing juxtaposition of drawing attention to the mature feminine body with substantial jewellery and garments whilst at the same time concealing its anatomy from public view, transforming feminine corporeality into a social skin with more complex cultural and perhaps even biographical meanings. Ultimately, therefore, the bodies of these bearers of tradition became the tradition itself.

The Biological Sex and Age of Cruciform Brooch Wearers

The above account demonstrates how cruciform brooches were much more than just decorative flourishes. They secured substantial garments, shaping the bodies

³⁹ Hines 1997, 293.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Owen-Crocker 2004, 104–27; Walton Rogers 2007a, 199–214.

of the individuals who wore them. I would now like to explore two less mutable factors that shaped these individuals' bodies: biological sex and age. Some terminological clarification is necessary. The discussion above somewhat blurred the traditional analytical categories of sex and gender as factors constituted exclusively by biological and social forces respectively. Hence, it was not just that these women had a socially constructed gender identity, but their bodies too, through dress and ideology, were at least partly socially constructed and manipulated artifices. However, for the time being, where I use the word 'sex' below I refer to biological sex as identified from osteological analysis of skeletal material. Age is a little harder to define as the biological and social dimensions merge even further. Additionally, age is an important part of gender identity.⁴¹ Rather than introducing the clunky terms 'stage in the lifecycle/life phase' to refer to a socially constructed form of age-based identity, I shall simply distinguish them by the terms 'age' and 'biological age', the latter being determined from osteological analysis and the former being a social construction.⁴²

Another element of the account below will be a discussion of how the mortuary ritual acted to rearticulate notions of personhood and identity at the funeral. Consequently, it is necessary to take into account the full ritual process, which was obviously very different between the inhumation and cremation rites even though they frequently took place in the same cemeteries.⁴³ Though the rites were broadly contemporary, there is also a chronological bias. While cremation was more common during phase A, inhumation became popular during phase B (see above, pp. 105–6). Consequently, I will treat information from inhumation and cremation contexts separately unless otherwise stated. Not only was the chronological development of the mortuary rite potentially related to changing meanings in material culture, but the cruciform brooch, thanks to its longevity, occurred in both contexts in relatively high numbers and therefore provides an ideal opportunity to examine the relationship between the two rites.

This analysis contains only data from published osteological analyses. Because the terminology and techniques used by specialists varies, some standardisation is necessary in order to include a maximum number of examples. Analysis of archaeologically recovered bone determines sex with the highest degree of certainty only in individuals over the age of about eighteen, as this is when sexually dimorphic traits become fully expressed in the skeleton.⁴⁴ Even then, sexual determination is not an exact science, with reliability varying between 90 and 98 per cent.⁴⁵ Accuracy also depends on the quality and quantity of surviving bone. As such, degrees of certainty are usually given with decreasing reliability equivalent

⁴¹ See La Fontaine 1978, 1.

⁴² For more on biological and social age categories see Gowland 2006, 143.

⁴³ On the importance of observing the full ritual process, see Ucko 1969; Parker Pearson 1982. For the early Anglo-Saxon period, see Härke 1997c.

⁴⁴ See Schwarz 2007, 293–4.

⁴⁵ Henderson 1989, 78–9.

to 'categorical', 'probable' and 'possible', often expressed, for instance, as 'female', '?female' and '??female'. The precise wording of these categories varies, but the latter notation will be used here. Almost no '??females' and no '??males' are present in the dataset, so a total of five sex categories are used: 'female', '?female', 'male', '?male' and 'indeterminate'.⁴⁶

Approximate biological age is also determinable from skeletal remains using markers of maturity such as dental development and epiphyseal fusion alongside degenerative processes such as dental attrition.⁴⁷ There is a lack of standardisation in biological age categories among practising osteologists. My analysis below therefore converts various biological age categories into a standardised system used by Jacqui McKinley on the Spong Hill material given in Table 15, as I have found this to be the most amenable to incorporating all the various age categories used by other osteologists.⁴⁸ Though osteological reports generally use standard terms such as 'infant', 'juvenile', 'subadult', 'young adult', 'mature adult' and 'older adult', the exact age in years for each often differs. While one account might draw the line between a subadult and adult at eighteen years old, another might define an adult as an individual over the age of nineteen or even seventeen. The present analysis requires only broad indications of age, so such details are not critical. Converting diverse osteological reports into the system used here requires a small amount of judgement in finding the best-fitting equivalent, but does not require any adjustment over about one or two years, which is not insurmountable.

The sample includes only data collected using scientific osteological methods.⁴⁹ No fewer than 181 of the 305 known grave contexts containing cruciform brooches have been subjected to osteological examination (59 per cent). This includes cases where osteological analysis failed to determine anything due to poor bone survival. The 181 burials are from twenty-nine sites, covering all the core areas of cruciform brooch use (see Table 16). The only notable gap in the sample is the Kentish region. Although the skeletal material from both Mucking and Springfield Lyons has been subjected to osteological examination, the individuals buried with cruciform brooches yielded no information. Other cemeteries in Table 16 also produced no useful results for their cruciform brooch wearers, including, Bergh Apton, Easington and Snape. Their inclusion in the first part of

⁴⁶ A solitary '??female' is in fact present in the dataset from grave 28 at Wakerley, Northamptonshire. To simplify the following analyses and to permit their results a higher degree of reliability this individual has been counted as of indeterminate sex.

⁴⁷ See Walker, Dean and Shapiro 1991; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994, 32–8, 43, 54; Hillson 1996, 239–42; Scheuer and Black 2004, 225, 252

⁴⁸ See McKinley 1994, 18–19.

⁴⁹ The earliest report used extensively here is that of Sewerby published by Hirst in 1985. The analysis from Swaffham is slightly earlier (see Hills and Wade-Martins 1976), but included only one individual with a cruciform brooch. Although estimated ages are often given even in publications from the nineteenth century, they are excluded here due to their speculative basis.

Table 15. A summarised version of the osteological age categories used by McKinley for analysis of the Spong Hill cemetery.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Age in years</i>
Infant	0–4
Juvenile	5–12
Subadult	13–18
Young adult	19–25
Mature adult	26–40
Older adult	40+

this analysis assures a fair picture of the proportions of the sample for which we simply lack data.

Up to this point, I have assumed that only women wore cruciform brooches. I have done this largely because the association of men with weaponry and women with jewellery has been the prevailing paradigm in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology since its very beginning. More recently, despite some aspersions stemming from a small number of potentially doubtable exceptions, scientific analysis of skeletal material has broadly confirmed that this was indeed the case.⁵⁰ However, it is time now to test this assumption on a sample of osteologically analysed cruciform brooch wearers. Figure 53 shows the sex of individuals inhumed with cruciform brooches while Figure 54 shows the same from cremation graves. Although the number of indeterminately sexed individuals is very high in both samples, together they indicate a clear preference for females. Simultaneously, however, and leaving the probable males and females aside for a moment, the inhumations include a surprisingly high number of males (five), constituting 9 per cent of the sexed population. Traditionally, the discovery of apparently male skeletons associated with supposedly feminine jewellery has prompted calling the sexing of the skeleton into question far more readily than the gendered nature of these items.⁵¹ Indeed, some of these individuals are probably explicable by the margin of error in osteological analysis. For instance, when Nick Stoodley encountered similarly conflicting results, his re-examination of the remains did in fact find some of them to have been originally misidentified.⁵² Yet this rate of 9 per cent is at the extreme end of the 10 per cent osteological margin of error cited by Janet Henderson.⁵³

⁵⁰ See especially Lucy 1998; Stoodley 1999.

⁵¹ Henderson 1989. See, for instance, Hirst 1985, 33; Evison 1987, 123; Leahy 2007, 60.

⁵² Stoodley 1999, 29.

⁵³ Henderson 1989, 79. Though this margin of error was calculated according to osteological techniques of the 1980s, many of the osteological analyses included in the present analysis originate from this decade. See also Lucy 1997, 161.

Table 16. Cemeteries and individuals buried with cruciform brooches with corresponding skeletally derived biological age and sex data.

<i>Cemetery</i>	<i>Mortuary ite</i>	<i>Indiiv duals with cruciform brooches (£ n total)</i>
Andrew's Hill, Easington	Inhumation	2
Barrington A (Edix Hill)	Inhumation	2
Bergh Apton	Inhumation	5
Broughton Lodge	Inhumation	5
Brunel Way	Inhumation	1
Castledyke South	Inhumation	8
Cleatham	Cremation	5
Cleatham	Inhumation	7
Empingham II	Inhumation	12
Flixton II	Inhumation	2
Fonaby	Inhumation	1
Great Chesterford	Inhumation	1
Illington	Cremation	4
Millgate	Cremation	1
Minerva, Alwalton	Cremation	1
Minerva, Alwalton	Inhumation	1
Morning Thorpe	Cremation	1
Morning Thorpe	Inhumation	26
Mucking I and II	Inhumation	3
Norton	Inhumation	11
Oakington	Inhumation	4
Quarrington	Inhumation	1
Sewerby	Inhumation	7
Snape	Inhumation	3
Spong Hill	Cremation	30
Spong Hill	Inhumation	8
Springfield Lyons	Inhumation	2
Swaffham	Inhumation	1
Tallington	Inhumation	2
Wakerley	Inhumation	7
Wasperton	Inhumation	3
West Heslerton	Inhumation	11
Westgarth Gardens	Inhumation	3

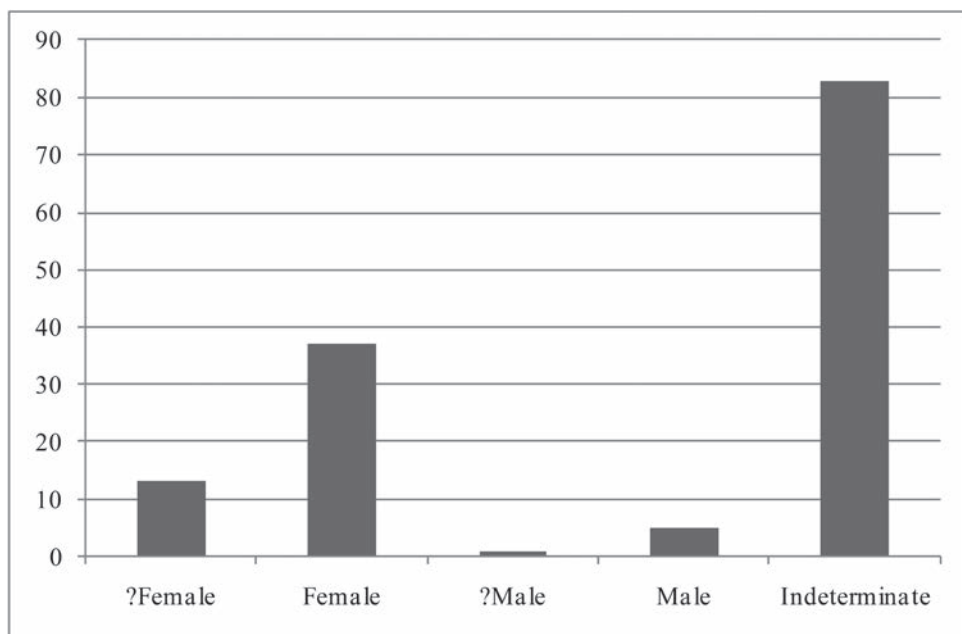


Figure 53. Biological sex profiles of 139 individuals inhumed with cruciform brooches.

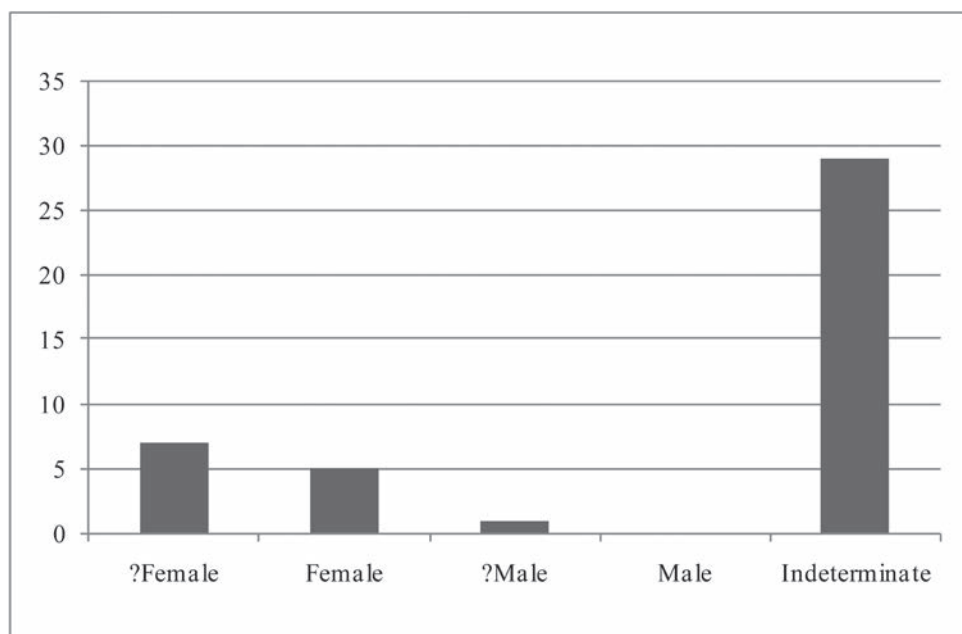


Figure 54. Biological sex profiles of forty-two individuals cremated with cruciform brooches.

Further exploration of these five graves is therefore necessary to see if there was anything else unusual about them.⁵⁴ For instance, the apparently male individual from grave 57 at Norton wearing a cruciform brooch was also wearing wrist-clasps at the shoulder, an unusual position indicating an alternative use for these items than for fastening the sleeves of the traditionally feminine sleeved undergarment.⁵⁵ Could this burial therefore simply be a very rare example of a man wearing a cloak fastened by a cruciform brooch? The prospect, though highly unusual, does not seem too unlikely and does not imply any necessary conflict between gender and sex, as cloaks were not necessarily as feminine a garment as *þ þ os* dresses. Though cloak fasteners are indeed very rare in Anglo-Saxon male graves, men commonly wore them in both the Roman and Germanic worlds.⁵⁶ However, the male in grave 63 at Norton, who also wore a cruciform brooch, was wearing more typically feminine garb including beads, a clasp on one wrist and an annular brooch probably fastening a one-shouldered *þ þ os* dress. Nick Stoodley has already discussed these burials at Norton, drawing attention to the comments of the osteologist who said that the Norton male and female population were 'generally taller and more gracile with less clear-cut sexual distinctions', which may well suggest a higher rate of sex misidentification than at other cemeteries.⁵⁷ A further two male burials accompanied by cruciform brooches come from Empingham II, where nothing unusual is recorded concerning the skeletal characteristics.⁵⁸ The burial from grave 105 is a typically feminine burial also containing *þ þ os*-fastening annular brooches. Yet, the fact that the individual was apparently only nine or ten years old immediately raises suspicions, given that sex is very unlikely to be so reliably determinable this young.⁵⁹ The individual from grave 129 at Empingham II, however, was not wearing a *þ þ os* dress. Though wrist-clasps were also present in the grave, they were found at the waist, far away from the wrists, which were raised up near the head. Although a small number of beads lay near the neck along with the cruciform brooch, perhaps this burial also represents the rare occurrence of a man wearing a cloak in the grave. The final apparently male burial interred with a cruciform was from grave 137 at Castledyke South. Though the grave was in fact disturbed, the torso, where the cruciform brooch was found alongside a pair of *þ þ os*-fastening annular brooches, appears to have been left intact. Therefore, out of these five apparently male individuals inhumed with cruciform brooches, one was too young to be accurately sexed despite the published results (Empingham II grave 105) and two do not represent individuals wearing typically feminine clothing (Norton grave 57 and

⁵⁴ For a similar account see Stoodley 1999, 33.

⁵⁵ Stoodley 1999, 33 also comments on this individual. Though still uncommon, clasps are more often found with male burials in Scandinavia, see Hines 1984, 61–2.

⁵⁶ For Roman cloak fasteners see Janes 1996 and for Germanic examples see Böhme 1974, 51–3.

⁵⁷ See Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 107 and Stoodley 1999, 10.

⁵⁸ Jane Timby, however, notes that some error may have arisen through poor bone preservation and the 'slightly haphazard recovery and labelling of material from the site'. See Timby 1996, 16.

⁵⁹ See Mays 1998, 38.

Empingham II grave 129). Only two of them (Norton grave 63 and Castledyke South grave 137) represent cases where the biological sex conflicts with obviously feminine dress. Not only does one of these cemeteries (Norton) have unreliable sex determinations anyway, but these two individuals would also fall well within the margin of error for osteological sexing.

The two 'probable males' buried with cruciform brooches are less of a concern given that their sex assignment is already called into doubt. One is from a cremation and the other is from an inhumation. Both are from phase A. There is nothing particularly unusual about the individual inhumed in grave 9 at Cleatham, who apparently wore at least a *þ þ os* dress on one shoulder, probably under a cloak fastened by the cruciform brooch. The cruciform brooch fragment from cremation 1743 at Spong Hill was accompanied by an iron bow brooch and beads, which again were probably feminine items used to fasten a *þ þ os* dress. Hence, both cases suggest that the osteological sexing was incorrect. Nevertheless, these examples gain more importance considering their relative predominance among only a very small sample of only four sexed burials from phase A.⁶⁰ Only one of these four examples was categorically female (the other was a probable female). Consequently, we do not actually have solid evidence to suggest that at this earliest stage the cruciform brooch in Anglo-Saxon England was strictly a feminine item. Some potential doubts were also expressed above that these early examples all necessarily fastened *þ þ os* dresses given the rarity of paired examples from Anglo-Saxon England (see above, pp. 200–1). Hence, the evidence may tentatively suggest that phase A cruciform brooches in Anglo-Saxon England were not even especially gendered items, but followed the late Roman and earlier Germanic brooch-wearing habits, being worn by both men and women.⁶¹ Indeed, the late Roman crossbow brooch, the earliest cruciform brooch's closest parallel, probably had far stronger masculine associations.⁶² Potentially, the strictly feminine associations of cruciform brooches developed during phase B as they became more closely associated with Anglian identity. However, we must await further evidence before arriving at any reliable conclusions.

This still leaves two later potential males buried with cruciform brooches from phases B and C. Explanations for comparable instances in the archaeological record occasionally attract colourful interpretations making a case for third genders, cross-gendering and even biological hermaphroditism.⁶³ Of course, such individuals exist in most societies and there is no necessity to force a normative heterosexual perspective onto the Anglo-Saxon past. Yet at the same time, it seems

⁶⁰ Though the group 1 example from grave 9 at Cleatham may be a little later than phase A, it probably was no later than the first part of phase B (see above, p. 202). Strictly speaking, the Spong Hill example is too fragmented for accurate dating, though in the internal chronology of Spong Hill it is placed in phases A or B, both of which fall approximately within the present phase A (see Hills and Lucy 2013, 229).

⁶¹ See Foster 1993, 208 and also Böhme 1974, 51–3.

⁶² Janes 1996.

⁶³ Taylor 1992, 84; Knüsel and Ripley 2000.

unlikely that such individuals would be as easily identifiable as Anglo-Saxon men buried in women's clothing. We might be rather more likely to find individuals with a non-standard sexuality or gender among the large sections of cemetery populations interred with no grave goods at all, rather than in a neat mix of male bodies with feminine dress items. Instead, those two examples from Norton and Empingham II may well provide an important reminder that although material culture can have overwhelmingly gendered associations, these gendered meanings do not inhere in the object itself. Rather, the gendered meanings of objects lie in how they were used and their biographical trajectories (see Chapter 4). For instance, if these two men, if indeed they were men, wore cruciform brooches to fasten cloaks just as other men may have worn similar garments fastened by other means, they did not necessarily feminise nor emasculate. Perhaps the brooches were inherited or gifted for some other reason. Overall, however, the evidence from the analysis of biological sex is clear. Cruciform brooches were overwhelmingly worn by women. Given the overall coincidence of female biological sex and a particular way of dressing, wearing cruciform brooches, despite a small number of exceptions, was an obviously gendered behaviour.

Particular forms of early Anglo-Saxon feminine dress related to specific biological age ranges. Nick Stoodley has shown the association between four relatively well-defined characteristics of female grave assemblages and four biological age groups. Below the age of five, infants rarely received grave goods at all and therefore presumably wore clothing that did not require metallic fastenings. From here until the age of about ten to twelve, a small amount of feminine jewellery sometimes accompanied the body. Though there are exceptions, these usually included only a single brooch. Only from about the age of twelve or a little younger did women begin to wear the standard adult *þ þ os* dress in the grave, which suggests this might have been the age they attained a culturally recognised adulthood.⁶⁴ At some point in their late teens, women began to receive higher quantities of jewellery, including more brooches, beads and girdle-hangers, among other items. After the age of about forty, however, according to Stoodley's analysis, grave goods among women decreased again, though Rebecca Gowland suggests this may be due to a bias in the sample.⁶⁵ There are some other more subtle patterns to do with dress accessory type. For example, girdle-hangers do not begin to be worn until the late teens.⁶⁶ Additionally, and although the full data has not yet been presented, both Stoodley and Gowland comment that saucer brooches were only interred with individuals over the age of about eighteen, while Gowland also indicates that disc brooches may have been more common among younger individuals.⁶⁷ These results already suggest that certain brooch types and other

⁶⁴ Stoodley 1999, 108; 2000. See also Gowland 2006, 148.

⁶⁵ Stoodley 1999, 117.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 116; Gowland 2006, 148.

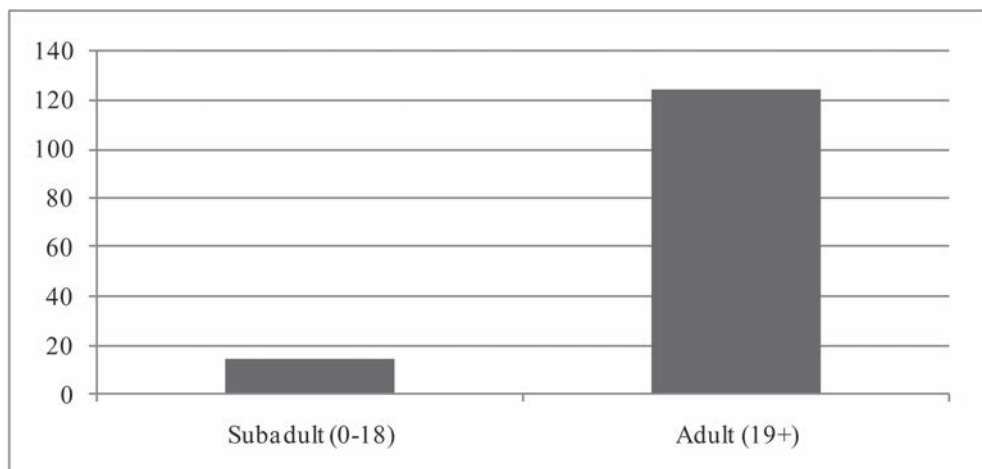


Figure 55. Biological age profiles of individuals buried with cruciform brooches making a distinction only between adults (nineteen +) and younger categories.

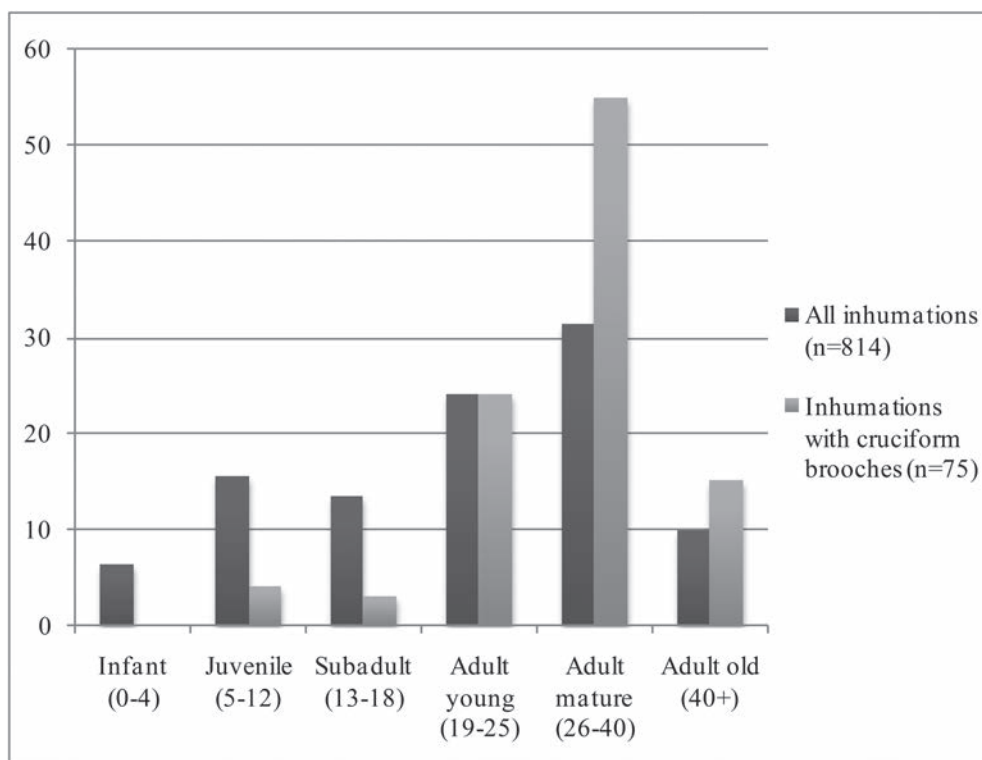


Figure 56. Comparing biological age profiles of general early Anglo-Saxon inhumation demography with cruciform brooch burials, measured in percentages.

items did not just have gendered uses, but they also held significance for particular age groups.

Of the 181 osteologically analysed cruciform brooch burials, forty-nine offered insufficient information pertaining to biological age, leaving 132 successfully examined individuals for the analysis. Because the biological age determination cannot always be to the same level of accuracy, my account will commence by looking at the broadest categories before narrowing this down to a smaller dataset containing only very accurately aged individuals.

The most basic age difference to draw from osteological analysis lies around the age of eighteen or thereabouts. Therefore, analysing the whole sample on only this distinction, including both inhumations and cremations, permits the inclusion of all 132 individuals. Although the results in Figure 55 are highly generalised, the pattern is clear: 92 per cent of cruciform brooches were included in the graves of individuals over the age of eighteen. Hence, only 8 per cent accompanied younger individuals, which is approximately the same proportion as

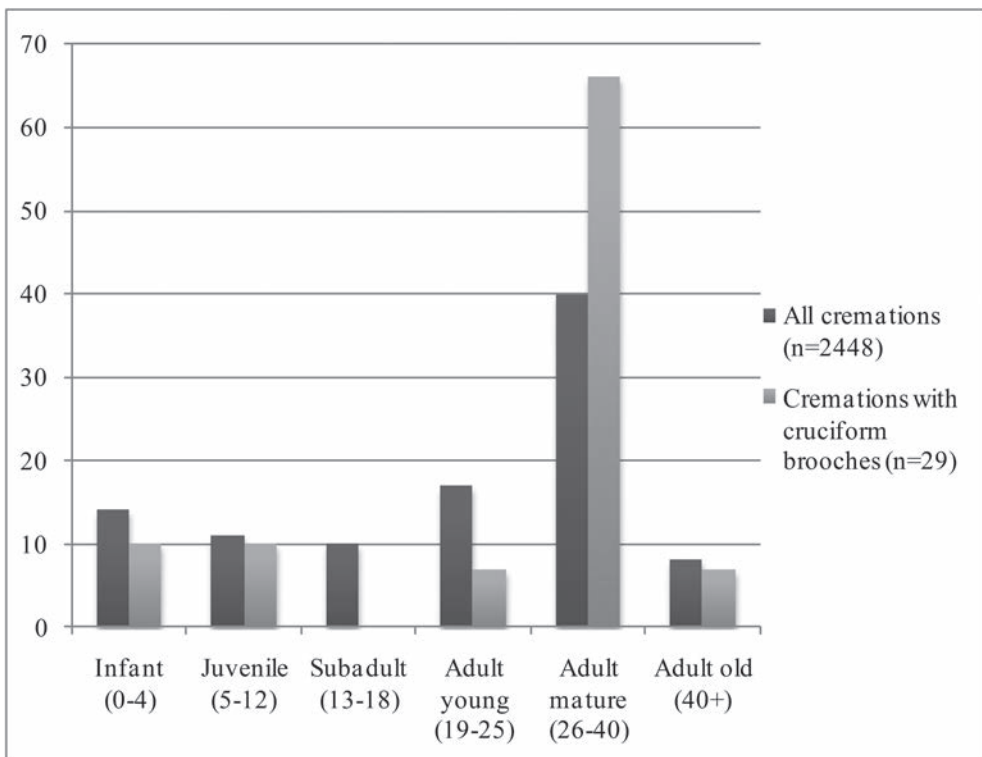


Figure 57. Comparing biological age profiles of general early Anglo-Saxon inhumation demography with cruciform brooch cremations, measured in percentages.

those exceptions discussed above in terms of biological sex. Evidently, the cruciform brooch was as restricted by biological age as it was by sex and it followed a similar age restriction as the saucer brooch.

Breaking down the age groups into finer categories permits a more detailed picture, though it reduces the sample to seventy-five individuals for inhumations (Figure 56) and only twenty-nine for cremations (Figure 57). The obvious peak among individuals between the ages of twenty-six and forty is common to both rites. Relative to the inhumations, there are fewer individuals between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five among the cremations (two individuals) and proportionately more individuals below the age of eighteen (six individuals). Hence, among cremations, individuals younger than the age of eighteen contribute as much as 21 per cent of the sample. Among inhumations, these younger individuals contribute just below 7 per cent. The sample size for cremations is very low, so while it would be wise to be cautious with any interpretation with respect to these specific figures, it seems clear that the age associations of cruciform brooches among cremations were weaker than they were among inhumations. Nevertheless, the differences are not major; the same basic rule that favoured individuals over the age of eighteen for burial with cruciform brooches, and especially over the age of twenty-six, broadly applied in both rites. This strongly suggests that despite the considerable differences in the ritual processes, the brooches an individual wore in the grave were likely to have been their possessions in life. Instead of divergence in ritual practice, perhaps it is chronological variation that can explain the differences between the biological age profiles. After all, the favouring of cremation during phase A was established clearly in Chapter 3 (see above, Table 6, pp. 105–6).

To examine the restriction of cruciform brooch wearers to women over the age of eighteen further, as well as the differences between inhumation and cremations rites, the exceptions to this rule can be examined to see if there was anything else unusual about their interment, including their date. Infants of the ages zero to four buried with cruciform brooches all come from cremations. These include numbers 140 and 459 at Cleatham and 1176 at Spong Hill. The two from Cleatham are both phase A brooches (#140 and #459). Though the animal mask on the foot of the brooch from Spong Hill (#2042) has a brow (a generally later feature), the brooch is a very early small and simple item, with a catch extending down to the foot, characteristic of phase A. Cruciform brooch associations with juveniles between the ages of five and twelve include cremations 1730 from Spong Hill, 101 from Illington and 1282 from Minerva, Alwalton. Again, the brooch from Spong Hill (#503) is nominally a type 2.2.3 belonging to phase B, but detailed examination reveals it could potentially be much earlier. The nostrils on the animal mask, though they are spiral-shaped, are very small and tight. The proportions of the foot are slim and there are very good parallels for this form among the phase A Kentish examples, such as the pair from grave 15 at Bifrons (#1348–1349). Meanwhile, however, the brooch from Illington (#433) is a typical member of type

2.2.2 and the brooch from Minerva (#875), though fragmentary, is large and has lappets. Accordingly both of these latter examples are reliably datable to phase B. In short, four out of the six exceptionally young individuals from cremations accompanied by cruciform brooches belonged to phase A or at least to a very early part of phase B.

Two inhumations with cruciform brooches also belong to this juvenile age group of individuals between the ages of five and twelve. The first, from Empingham II grave 105, has already been discussed. This was the individual purported to have been a male (see above, p. 213). If this unlikely sex identification was actually accurate, then the burial is anomalous for other reasons, but the brooch itself (#576) belongs safely in phase B, being a typical member of type 3.1.1. The only other individual in the juvenile age group inhumed with a cruciform brooch was from grave 28 at Sewerby. Again, the type 3.2.1 brooch (#709) is typical of phase B and the burial is unremarkable in every other way. Because the sex of the Empingham II individual must be questionable given their young age, it seems reasonable to suggest that these two examples are only unusual for their inclusion of phase B brooches with relatively young individuals. Quite simply, on very rare occasions, cruciform brooches accompanied individuals considerably younger than the age of eighteen in the grave.

The final three anomalously young individuals belonged to the subadult age group (between thirteen and eighteen). They are all from inhumations, including grave 156 at Castledyke South, grave 46 at Cleatham and grave 15 at Quarrington. Only the individual from Castledyke South, however, was definitely under the age of eighteen, having an estimated age of fourteen to fifteen. The individuals from Cleatham and Quarrington were aged twelve to eighteen and seventeen to nineteen respectively, meaning that they were potentially within the normal range or only a few years outside it. They both wore standard phase B brooches of types 3.2.2 and 3.2.1 (#736 and #703 respectively). I have already noted that grave 156 at Castledyke South was unusual (see above, p. 137). Not only did its cruciform brooch probably belong to phase A (#83), but it was also a reused fragment, incapable of use as a dress fastener and potentially with complex biographical reasons for being associated with such a young individual. Hence, all three of these subadult graves containing cruciform brooches can probably be discounted.

While most of the younger individuals cremated with cruciform brooches are explicable by their earlier dates, only two individuals younger than eighteen from phase B were inhumed wearing cruciform brooches (grave 105 at Empingham II and grave 28 at Sewerby). This convincingly establishes that at least from phase B onward, despite a small number of exceptions, only individuals over the age of eighteen wore cruciform brooches.

Because the average age at death in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is over eighteen, only a comparison between the demography of cruciform brooch wearers and the demography of whole cremation and inhumation cemeteries can establish just how preferential interment with cruciform brooches really was among

women over the age of eighteen. The two major cremation cemeteries in this sample are Spong Hill and Cleatham. Figure 57 incorporates the combined demographic data from both of these cemeteries in the darker shaded columns.⁶⁸ Aside from the individuals in the youngest categories explained above as belonging to phase A, individuals cremated with cruciform brooches display a clear departure from the general frequencies between the ages of twenty-six and forty. While only 40 per cent of the total cremated population died at this age, this category contains 66 per cent of all cremated cruciform brooch wearers. Although there does not seem to have been any restriction on individuals from the oldest age group wearing cruciform brooches, neither was there any particular preference. Because the sample sizes for cruciform brooches among the lower age ranges are very small, it is difficult to say for certain, but the very low number of individuals cremated between the ages of twelve and twenty-five may indicate some restriction on them from being buried with cruciform brooches. From the cremation sample, we might imagine that a small number of individuals from the age of eighteen and over began to wear cruciform brooches, which increased substantially after the age of about twenty-six. Simultaneously, there may have been some special treatment of children below the age of twelve who were perhaps given token cruciform brooches during phase B, or wore them during phase A before any age restrictions became applied to cruciform brooches.

Moving on to the inhumation sample, a selection of twelve substantial cemeteries were used to create an overall profile of inhumation ages at death, including Barrington A (Edix Hill), Broughton Lodge, Castledyke South, Empingham II, Morning Thorpe, Norton, Oakington, Quarrington, Sewerby, Spong Hill (inhumations), Swaffham and West Heslerton. Various problems prompted the exclusion of some of the twenty-nine cemeteries listed above in Table 16. For some, the fact that none of the individuals from these cemeteries equipped with cruciform brooches could be aged meant that they effectively existed outside the sample. These cemeteries included Andrew's Hill, Bergh Apton, Brunel Way, Flixton II, Mucking I and II, Snape, Springfield Lyons and Wasperton. The Cleatham inhumations are not published in sufficient detail to merit inclusion. The human remains from Fonaby were a very small and incomplete sample of a much larger excavated cemetery.⁶⁹ Great Chesterford was excluded because its unusual demographic profile with exceptionally high numbers of children threatened to skew the sample since it only contained a single individual buried with a cruciform brooch.⁷⁰ Westgarth Gardens was excluded because its unorthodox age categories could not be reliably combined into the categories used here. The

⁶⁸ Demographic data from these cemeteries derives from McKinley 1994 and Squires 2012. Note that in both of these cemeteries some individuals were aged as belonging to more than one age group. For the purposes of this analysis, these individuals were split equally into the categories to which they could belong, according to a method suggested in Chamberlain 1994, 20.

⁶⁹ See Cook 1981, 14–16.

⁷⁰ Evison 1994, 59.

accuracy of the osteological analysis of this cemetery has also been cast into doubt elsewhere.⁷¹ Most of these excluded cemeteries did not yield high numbers of cruciform brooches, so their exclusion does not particularly affect the nature of the sample, which still covers the core regions of cruciform brooch use, excluding only Kent. Combining these inhumation cemetery populations and comparing them to the age at death of individuals inhumed with cruciform brooches results in Figure 56, which shows a very similar picture to the cremations. While ages zero to eighteen indicate very low relative proportions of cruciform brooch wearers (7 per cent of the sample, explained above), ages twenty-six to forty show an obvious preference. While only just over 31 per cent of the inhumation population died in this age group, it includes 55 per cent of cruciform brooch wearers. Again, there is a notable preference for wearing cruciform brooches in the oldest group. While there was obviously no restriction on individuals over the age of eighteen being inhumed with a cruciform brooch, neither is there necessarily any preference, as the percentages of those with and without cruciform brooches are in fact almost exactly about the same (approximately 24 per cent).

Among both cremations and inhumations, at least during phases B and C, individuals younger than eighteen buried with cruciform brooches were very much the exception. While there does not seem to have been any restriction on women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five wearing cruciform brooches, it was women over this age who disproportionately represented the core group of cruciform brooch wearers. The sample size of individuals over the age of forty reduces considerably, but cruciform brooches are still disproportionately represented among this oldest group. The fact that the demographic profiles of cruciform brooch wearers were almost the same regardless of the specific mortuary ritual strongly suggests that the inclusion of a cruciform brooch in an inhumation grave or cremation was not specific to the ritual process. In other words, the broadly commensurate data between cremation and inhumation contexts suggests that the deceased wore cruciform brooches in life and that the brooches' presence in graves of either type is not just a product of the mortuary ritual.

Occasionally it is possible to divide the mature adult group composed of individuals aged twenty-six to forty into two parts: twenty-six to thirty and thirty-one to forty. Across the whole sample of inhumation cemeteries, more individuals belong to the younger group (138) than the older one (102), even though the younger category represents a smaller range, meaning that the average age at death in early Anglo-Saxon society potentially lay within this younger group. However, among cruciform brooch wearers, the reverse was true, with more of them belonging to the older group (twenty-one) than the younger (eight). Though the sample at this level of accuracy severely reduces in size, the suggestion is that women who wore cruciform brooches were not only usually aged between twenty-six and forty, but where it is possible to distinguish within this mature

⁷¹ Penn and Bruggmann 2007, 88.

adult age group, we find that most of them actually died in its uppermost ranges, making them among the oldest women in early Anglo-Saxon society.

Cruciform Brooches and the Early Anglo-Saxon Household

While it was older women who wore cruciform brooches, only a minority of individuals of this age and gender did so. Though their relative position in the kin group, household or wider community partly identified them as older women, their costumes symbolised this status with an impressive appearance rarely matched by younger women in society, permitting any observer an immediate impression of their social status. Gender and maturity did not unite all women of this age. Distinctions are evident between such individuals, with cruciform brooch wearers, for instance, representing a specific combination of age and gender as well as perhaps membership of the politically ascendant group discussed in Chapter 5. In other words, this was not a case of age and gender transcending other social differences, but a concatenation of various aspects of identity. Within this network of intersecting gender, age and ethnic identities, these women formed specific nodal points, to which various other members of society could relate through some element of their identity, but in which they could not fully participate. Hence, the older women who wore cruciform brooches demonstrate that, despite various shared aspects of social status, something set them apart from their male, younger and even equally aged female peers.

Accordingly, it would be useful to know what proportion of older women wore cruciform brooches. Table 17 shows the proportions of cruciform brooch wearers from a sample of the major cemeteries. They vary substantially. Of particular note are the very low proportions of cruciform brooches among the cremations at Spong Hill and Cleatham, compared to the exceptionally high proportions among the inhumed populations at the same sites. This will be subject to further scrutiny below. Great Chesterford, Mucking I and II, Springfield Lyons and Wasperton probably have very low proportions of graves containing cruciform brooches because of their peripheral locations in Essex and Warwickshire on the fringe of the core Anglian region. The low values from Barrington A (Edix Hill) may well be explained by the fact that a considerable number of cruciform brooches were taken from the same site before it was professionally excavated.⁷² Calculations of the average percentage of cruciform brooch wearers among these cemetery populations provide a mean value of around 5 per cent and a median closer to 4 per cent. Although only a minority of individuals from these cemeteries have been reliably sexed, we might assume that about half of the population were

⁷² There are at least another nine and possibly even a further eight from this site (depending in the precise provenance of a number of brooches in the Ashmolean Museum), which would bring the proportion up to a normal if not much higher value.

male.⁷³ The mean value can therefore be doubled to about 10 per cent to give the approximate proportion of women of all ages buried with cruciform brooches. However, only women over the age of about eighteen were interred with cruciform brooches, a demographic making up about 65 per cent of the inhumation cemetery population according to Figure 56. A simple calculation ($10/65 \times 100$) suggests that about 15 per cent of women over the age of eighteen, within the core Anglian area, were buried wearing cruciform brooches.

This is an extremely crude calculation that may well not bear much semblance to a representative proportion of the living population at any one time, but the key thing is that it includes only a small proportion of all women buried with grave goods, which Nick Stoodley suggests lies around the 60 per cent mark.⁷⁴ So aside from the fact that they were women over the age of eighteen, what else distinguished these particular individuals from the others who also fitted this description? Chapter 5 offers one possible answer – the wearers of cruciform brooches bore the material tradition of members of an elite group who potentially staked their claims to power on an ethnic ideology. However, I have already suggested that this symbolism originated only in the later fifth century with the commencement of phase B. If this was the case, then we might also see some changes in their mortuary contexts around this time. Indeed, phase A contexts are much more frequently cremations than inhumations and they also seem to display less age restriction. Something similar is reflected in the looser distribution and simple but inchoate typological structure of phase A brooches, not yet crystallised into the tightly regionalised and complex stylistic system of the phase B brooches. Accordingly, it seems likely that the symbolism of these earliest cruciform brooches was not bound quite so tightly to a particular social group. The transition between phases A and B, in terms of dress, is signified by a shift from predominant use as a generic, feminine *þ þ os* to a more exclusive cloak fastener. The transition between phases A and B was captured on particular costume ensembles discussed above, which included both *þ þ os* dresses and cloaks fastened by cruciform brooches. Providentially, the transition between the predominance of the cremation and inhumation rites is also captured actually within the two major cremation cemeteries: Spong Hill and Cleatham which, surely not by coincidence, also contained three of the eight known costume ensembles that spanned this transition (see above, p. 201).

The vastly different ratios of cruciform brooch wearers among the inhumed and cremated populations at Spong Hill and Cleatham are significant (see Table 17). Recalling that the mean proportion of cruciform brooch wearers among

⁷³ In Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries, sex ratios vary significantly (see Boyleston, Wiggins and Roberts 1998, 222), but generally average out at about half-and-half. The basic figures given here do not take into account other subtle differences, such as the preponderance of women in cremation cemeteries (see McKinley 1994, 68; Squires 2012, 326) and are only provided here to give an estimate.

⁷⁴ Stoodley 1999, 75.

Table 17. Typical proportions of early Anglo-Saxon graves containing cruciform brooches.

<i>Cemetery</i>	<i>Number of individuals</i>	<i>Individuals with cruciform brooches</i>	<i>Percentage with cruciform brooch</i>
Barrington A (Edix Hill)	149	2	1.3
Bergh Apton	63	4	6.4
Broughton Lodge	121	5	4.1
Castledyke South	227	8	3.5
Cleatham (cremations)	977	5	0.5
Cleatham (inhumations)	62	7	11.3
Empingham II	135	12	8.9
Great Chesterford	194	1	0.5
Minerva, Alwalton (inhumation and cremation)	64	2	3.1
Morning Thorpe	374	26	7.0
Mucking I	64	1	1.6
Mucking II	745	2	0.3
Norton	120	10	8.3
Sewerby	58	7	12.1
Snape	72	3	4.2
Spong Hill (cremations)	2,384	29	1.2
Spong Hill (inhumations)	57	8	14.0
Springfield Lyons	250	3	1.2
Wakerley	85	8	9.4
Wasperton	241	3	1.2
West Heslerton	201	11	5.4
Westgarth Gardens	69	3	4.4

Note: Some of the inhumation cemeteries in the left-hand column occasionally include very small numbers of cremations.

inhumed populations was around 5 per cent, the values of 14 per cent and 11.3 per cent among the inhumations at Spong Hill and Cleatham indicate a major increase. Additionally, the extremely low proportion of cruciform brooches among their cremated populations, about 1.2 per cent at Spong Hill and 0.5 per cent at Cleatham, suggests that something very similar was occurring at both of these cemeteries at about the same time, which was approximately the time of transition between phases A and B.

Archaeological survival must be taken into account for these very low scores among cremations. Although in many cases mourners apparently went to considerable efforts to recover even the most amorphous lumps of copper alloy from the pyre to be placed in an urn, we cannot guarantee that this was always the case. Additionally, the present corpus only includes definite cruciform brooches, excluding a number of cremated unidentifiable copper-alloy lumps as well as fragmented bows and catch-plates that cannot be identified as belonging to any specific variety of bow brooch. Cleatham, for instance, offers at least another eight fragments that could once have been cruciform brooches, but even these would only increase the overall proportion to 1.3 per cent.⁷⁵ Just under another hundred cruciform brooches would be required to bring this percentage up to the 11.3 per cent found among the Cleatham inhumations. For Spong Hill, there are at least another thirty-nine potential candidates, which, in the unlikely circumstance that all of them were from cruciform brooches, would still only bring the proportion up to 2.9 per cent, still some distance from the 14 per cent found among the Spong Hill inhumations. To put this in perspective, another 270 cruciform brooches would have to be missing from the cremations to bring the figure up to this level. Despite some cruciform brooches that doubtless never made it from the pyre to the urn, cruciform brooches are hugely under-represented among the cremations from Spong Hill and Cleatham compared to the inhumations from the same sites.

It seems that it was an emergent status group that commenced burying their dead without first cremating them at Spong Hill and Cleatham. Among the female population of this group there was a disproportionate number of individuals wearing cruciform brooches. This prompts questions concerning the nature of the communities that used these large cremation cemeteries, who almost certainly originated from multiple settlements.⁷⁶ Perhaps those who began to inhumate their dead at these central places came from settlements with a disproportionately high number of cruciform brooch wearers. Similarly high proportions occur at the small inhumation cemeteries at Sewerby, Wakerley and Empingham II, for instance, which probably served single settlements. The demographic information from these large cremation cemeteries, however, suggests that not every member of the communities they served was buried in them, as they display

⁷⁵ A further fifteen unstratified fragments of cruciform brooches have been recovered from Cleatham. However, we must imagine these represent just a portion of many more disturbed cremations without cruciform brooches.

⁷⁶ For discussion of this see Williams 2002; Squires 2012, 327; 2014.

significant under-representation of children and men.⁷⁷ However, the fact that the same pattern occurred at both Spong Hill and Cleatham indicates that these women buried with cruciform brooches were not members of a single local settlement impinging on an otherwise communal cemetery. Indeed, the expansion of furnished inhumation was occurring throughout eastern Anglo-Saxon England involving certain individuals from many settlements acting as the first representatives of a newly restricted identity, demonstrating this conspicuously through both a particular burial rite and particular forms of dress.

Grave structures including a chamber grave and ring-ditches among the inhumations at Spong Hill similarly indicate a new status group seeking to distinguish themselves conspicuously from the rest of the burial population, referred to as a 'local elite lineage' by Christopher Scull.⁷⁸ It seems that phase B cruciform brooches were a parallel and probably related phenomenon, though they did not occur in association with these elaborate grave structures. If this new elite partly sustained their ideology through a form of conspicuous dress that accentuated social difference, it makes sense that this costume was on prominent display at the funeral and preserved for perpetuity in the grave, rather than being destroyed on the pyre to make way for a new form of transformed, perhaps even homogenising, ancestral identity.⁷⁹ The growing social significance of dress itself may therefore have had some influence on the increasing popularity of the inhumation rite over the cremation rite. After all, the transition coincides with the explosion in popularity of cruciform brooches as well as the crystallisation of cruciform brooch style, distribution and demographic profiles. According to the discussion in Chapter 5, this moment also marks the emergence of Anglian identity as an ethnic phenomenon and the rise of particular older women as the bearers of its material tradition.

Another way of understanding the context of these women in their respective communities is to assess the location of their graves in cemetery plans. While multiple settlements probably utilised the large cremation cemeteries, most inhumation cemeteries were associated with single settlements. The very mixed distribution of men, women and various age groups in these cemeteries indicates that they were laid out in household plots rather than status groups.⁸⁰ The household, as the primary economic unit of early Anglo-Saxon society, probably consisted of mixed status groups including perhaps slaves, all living in a single house, sometimes with ancillary buildings.⁸¹ Hence, there is a difference between the early Anglo-Saxon kin group and the household, certainly not what we would call a nuclear family, as households likely contained multiple descent groups. Anglo-Saxon settlements of the fifth and sixth centuries do not show much

⁷⁷ McKinley 1994, 68; Squires 2012, 333, 335.

⁷⁸ Scull 1992, 19.

⁷⁹ Williams 2001, 206.

⁸⁰ Stoodley 1999, 126; Sayer and Weinhold 2013.

⁸¹ Woolf 1997, 69; Wickham 2005, 502; Sayer 2009.



Figure 58. Plan of the cemetery at Empingham II, Rutland. The graves containing cruciform brooches are coloured in black (redrawn from Timby 1996, 4–5).

differentiation in terms of building or plot size, although major differences were to emerge in the seventh century, with the massive hall structures at Yeavering, Milfield and Cowdery's Down, for instance. During this earlier period, however, it seems that social status was more obviously marked out within households than between them.

Given the generally mixed distribution of status groups in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, it comes as little surprise that almost none of them shows any obvious patterning in terms of the spatial relationships between graves containing cruciform brooches. Such graves sometimes occur in loose groups of two or three, but this patterning is not consistent enough for us to draw any firm conclusions. Where these loose clusters of graves containing cruciform brooches occur, there is always more than one group in the cemetery and they are always mixed in with plenty of graves that did not contain cruciform brooches. The 15 per cent of older women who wore cruciform brooches would probably amount to no more than one or two women per household at any one time. Hence, these occasional loose groups may not so much represent distinct clusters, but rather the absence of cruciform brooch wearers among other household groups. Thus it is clear that the women who wore cruciform brooches were not seen as distinct, removed or special in death. They firmly belonged to their household group and to some extent stood as symbols for the whole unit.

The one exception to this general lack of any spatial patterning can be found among the inhumations at Empingham II, which show two persuasive clusters of graves containing cruciform brooches at either end of the cemetery. The cemetery was probably completely excavated, though it is not clear quite how much area was investigated around the area of burials from the notes of the excavators.⁸² Beyond this clustering of graves containing cruciform brooches, Empingham II is also unique for having such a large number and range of phase C brooches, including types 4.4.1, 4.6.1, 4.6.2 and 4.7.1. It is possible that these two facts are related. Recalling from Chapter 5 that the wearers of phase C cruciform brooches

⁸² Its linear appearance is to do with its alignment with an ancient trackway, see Timby 1996, 15.

may well have been members of an increasingly exclusive group, perhaps these apparently discrete clusters at Empingham II represent further restriction to even fewer households containing larger proportions of cruciform brooch wearers. Given that Empingham II is unique with respect to its quantity of phase C brooches, it is difficult to say anything with certainty, but it presents a strong possibility. If so, this distinct delineation of particular households as claiming exclusive rights to particular identities represents a significant development in this final phase of the Migration Period.

The traditional interpretation of graves containing cruciform brooches focused on wealth and status differences. Cruciform brooches occur almost invariably among substantial assemblages containing large quantities and ranges of grave goods. Graves containing cruciform brooches were among the richest of the period. According to quantifications of this so-called 'grave wealth', these graves represented an emergent high-status group of the sixth century. The individuals in these graves were not as dramatically separated from the rest of the community as the later 'princely' interments at Sutton Hoo, Benty Grange, Taplow and Asthall, for instance, but they were nonetheless probably members of an elite class with superior access to prestige gift-exchange networks, probably involved in some manner with the emergent Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (see Chapters 4 and 5).⁸³ This traditional approach to grave wealth, however, did not draw distinctions between cruciform brooch graves and any other grave containing this quantity and range of items. By this omission, this blunt approach glossed over their specific significance. There are also some theoretical difficulties with this approach. Although the disposal of quantities of material in graves inescapably indicates a greater ability to obtain this material in the first place, wealth in the grave does not necessarily represent wealth in life. Other forms of wealth potentially never entered graves and accordingly never entered the archaeological record. Neither would a wealthy kin group necessarily have to sink a consistent proportion of their wealth into the graves of their deceased kin. Instead, the presence of cruciform brooch in graves indicates not only wealth, but also the desire to be associated with an ancestor of a particular status symbolised by cruciform brooches. Aspects of wealth are to some extent unavoidable, given that many cruciform brooches were undeniably lavish objects, obviously at least partly valued for their conspicuous display of material resources. However, cruciform brooches, rather than representing some form of abstract currency, symbolised the participation of the individual in an elite exchange network (see Chapter 4). Additionally, as mentioned above (p. 226), the mixed distributions of well-furnished and meagrely equipped graves in cemetery plans indicate that, at least for the most part, we are not dealing with distinctions between wealthy and poor households, but with distinctions between roles and statuses within them. The fact that only older women wore cruciform brooches supports this idea of

⁸³ Shephard 1979; Scull 1922, 22; 1999, 22; Arnold 1988c, 115.

intra-household distinction. Simultaneously, however, because their mourners wished to portray their deaths in such a conspicuous and specific manner, these particular women also obviously symbolised something of the household as a unit. The burial of women wearing cruciform brooches therefore went toward constructing an idea not only of that individual's role within the household, but also of the status of the household as an entity in its own right.

A number of studies have suggested that gendered grave goods reflect the household division of labour. Foremost among those values traditionally attributed to adult women is their importance as mothers (or potential mothers) and the producers of economically valuable offspring.⁸⁴ These arguments have even extended to the suggestion that the *þ plos* was specifically favoured for the ease by which it permitted breastfeeding and could be adapted into a sling for carrying babies.⁸⁵ Furthermore, there has long been a running assumption that the primary value of women in early Anglo-Saxon society could be found in the household as opposed to the community or even the wider networks between communities. Accordingly, it has been suggested that the female capacity to reproduce and perpetuate the household was symbolised by the general focus of their grave goods on their most valuable assets: their bodies.⁸⁶ This is set in contrast to male weapon burials, which communicated a more standardised, extra-corporeal and trans-regional message with stringent ethnic restrictions.⁸⁷ The difficulty with this interpretation is that the associations it draws between masculine public roles and feminine private roles are too mutually exclusive to be realistic or even a likely reflection of the available archaeological evidence. In the anthropological study of household structures and kinship, there has been a tendency to see children as dependent on mothers and mothers, in turn, dependent on husbands.⁸⁸ Such arguments are based on the inescapable fact that women bear children and that this is something for which all societies must provide a social apparatus. However, mechanisms such as this always include some related idea of family or, more specifically, kin and not just mothers. Indeed, the only universal principle we can adhere to is that both men and women contribute to the rearing of children.⁸⁹ There is a need therefore to question the biological difference in reproductive function that we tend to define as the fundamental basis of social relationships between men and women in society. While early Anglo-Saxon women obviously played a fundamental role in the reproduction of the kin group, this was not necessarily restricted to the private, domestic environment, which, in this period, was probably not an especially private institution anyway. The evidence from cruciform brooches suggests that these women participated in a

⁸⁴ Stoodley 1999, 120; Walton Rogers 2007a, 242.

⁸⁵ Owen-Crocker 2004, 49.

⁸⁶ Stoodley 1999, 140.

⁸⁷ Härke 1990, Stoodley 1999, 140.

⁸⁸ Papers in Collier and Yanagisako 1987.

⁸⁹ Scheffler 1991, 376.

much wider network extending beyond the household, into the settlement, across regions within Anglo-Saxon England and well beyond even this to Scandinavia and at least central Europe. Selected women in these regions all participated in similar styles of dress, both uniting them as a social group and distinguishing between their regional factions. In this way, they bore a material tradition that helped define their household group, settlement and even their wider, trans-regionalised identities. While these women's role in the biological reproduction of the kinship group was doubtlessly critical, they were also intimately involved in its social reproduction.

A key piece of information in considering the place of cruciform brooch wearers in early Anglo-Saxon society lies in the age data, which suggested most of these women were in their late twenties or even their thirties and forties. Due to accounts that tend to emphasise women as child bearers, this is a demographic not frequently encountered in archaeological accounts. Recalling that women may have attained adulthood at the age of twelve or thereabouts, it is likely that a good number of women who wore cruciform brooches had offspring who were already in adulthood, the eldest among these women, in their mid-thirties and forties, are even quite likely to have been grandmothers. It may therefore be wise to shift our focus away from these women as potential biological reproducers of the kin group and emphasise instead their role in its social reproduction even further. While their status as mothers was surely important, it was perhaps their role as the living ancestors of the currently reproductive members of the household that was critical. As such, these older women were the lynchpins in the ongoing reproduction of kin. They sat at the very top of their descent groups with descendants splayed out beneath them not only within their own household, but probably also resident elsewhere, making them the nodal points in a much wider inter-generational and inter-regional network. The kinship groups to which these women provided a means of connection were of particular importance considering that they may well have represented the Anglian *gentes*. Descent from such women demonstrated an unquestionable relationship to an important status group. This is perhaps why their mourning kin chose to display their corpses so prominently, in inhumation graves rather than on pyres, with all their legitimating and aggrandising jewellery and garments.

Consequently, the wearing and burial of cruciform brooches symbolise so much more than the role of these women in their households. Cruciform brooches symbolised their ideological position in wider Anglo-Saxon and even European society. As the bearers of a material tradition, they became demonstrable keepers and controllers of an ideology of legitimated power, granted only to individuals of particular descent groups or with attested relationships to such groups, symbolised by exchange. Anglian identity was not only displayed and reinforced to the limited audience at a funeral, but was also displayed to a much wider world through the daily performance of dress. The women who wore cruciform

brooches were part of several symbolic realms: the household, the settlement, the wider network of local settlements and probably even beyond.

Conclusion

Cruciform brooches fastened two major kinds of garment: *þ þ os* dresses and cloaks. The appropriation of cruciform brooches as cloak fasteners seems to have been critical, largely because it was accompanied by several other transitions in their context of use that have been explored in previous chapters. The transition occurred between groups 1 and 2, coincident with the transition between phases A and B, at some point in the later fifth century. During this transition, the distribution of cruciform brooches became tightly regionalised in the east and their stylistic structure turned into a highly complex composite mixture of subscribed components, rather than the simple, if heterogeneous, structure and style of group 1. This period also witnessed the increasing popularity of the inhumation burial rite. Perhaps this growing popularity was partly due to the new significances dress had assumed in notions of early Anglo-Saxon personhood and its preservation in death. Although the biological age data for the earliest phase A brooches is slim, the transition in use from *þ þ os* to cloak fasteners seems to have coincided with the restriction of cruciform brooches to the oldest women in early Anglo-Saxon society. The position of these women at the apex of their kin groups was probably important, but their influence extended far beyond the structures of the household. They were evidently part of a network of elite groups throughout Europe who all dressed in closely related, if regionally distinctive, costumes. In life, however, as well as in death, only the combination of cruciform brooches with the body bestowed social potential upon cruciform brooches. The objects were capable of nothing by themselves. The corporeality of these women, including their dress and dress accessories, thus became a symbol of group identity. As these women advanced through life, their dress ensembles even came to overshadow their anatomical physicality. Indeed, cruciform brooches may have become so central that their divorce from this particular body even (or perhaps especially) in death seems to have been taboo in most situations. Combining this powerful symbol of ethnicity and power with the feminine body and its dress was a shrewd, if probably not entirely conscious, strategy by these emergent elite groups, who were increasingly seeking to elevate, substantiate and consolidate their political cachet. In so doing, they created an ethnic ideology not only based on prestige goods whose exchange was limited to particular individuals belonging to particular elite networks, but also less negotiable, thanks to its focus on the body.

Dress can be a powerful thing. A newcomer assuming the dress of a native can be one of the most convincing symbols of integration. Divergent dress based on ethnic differences is simultaneously among the most potent symbols of segregation and intentionally sustained cultural difference. The situation in post-Roman eastern England seems to have been neither of these things, but more likely a case

of at least some natives assuming the dress of newcomers, which could only have taken place under specific political circumstances. Of course, we do not really know how many of the new Anglian elite emerging toward the end of the fifth century were actually newcomers from the Germanic world. Many of them almost certainly were, but it seems likely that at least some of these women integrated into Anglian elite groups perhaps through marriage or by links drawn from other allegiances or kin relations. Either way, the rise of a distinctly Germanic form of dress in some regions of post-Roman Britain would have been a highly visible, conscious and probably even divisive transition, involving a substantial realignment of the Romano-British or sub-Roman material and corporeal symbolic systems. The fact that, by the end of the fifth century, dress had evolved to include not only regional styles but also ones that distinguished particular age and gender groups, should come as little surprise in a society that was becoming increasingly hierarchical and complex. Indeed, costume was one means by which early Anglo-Saxon society developed and how hierarchy itself was constructed and maintained.

Cruciform Brooches, Anglo-Saxon England and Beyond

The foregoing analyses and discussions permit us to paint the following picture of cruciform brooches and Anglo-Saxon England. The first examples were probably brought to south-east England by migrants in the 420s. While this suggestion will probably remain contentious, from the available historical and archaeological evidence, this seems likely. Any absolute date tied to this event should and will be subject to further scrutiny, but some point in the first third of the fifth century seems probable. At this early stage cruciform brooches were relatively small and plain items, assuming a variety of forms that were common to the North Sea region. None of these forms was especially standardised or regionalised. The spread of cruciform brooches into the south-east therefore probably did not represent a conscious colonisation of forms of dress or an intentional reorientation of a previously Romano-British stylistic milieu. Put simply, these earliest cruciform brooches were just some items among many brought here by migrants. Nevertheless, these items probably looked quite unusual in a Romano-British context. They would almost certainly have distinguished their wearers as newcomers. The zoomorphic feet of these brooches in particular would have been an exotic addition to the British repertoire. Perhaps their earliest native observers wondered, just as we do now, what variety of beast they depicted. Few of these earliest items made it into the ground, but the small number that did may well be represented among the earliest cremations at Spong Hill in Norfolk, a site which, properly set in its north-west European context, seems almost indistinguishable from its northern German equivalents.

Almost immediately, cruciform brooches began to be cast in south-east Britain, utilising a similar lost wax method and range of copper alloys to those used in the northern Germanic world. It is of considerable interest that, stylistically, these still very early items already veered away from their continental counterparts. The difference is by no means as dramatic as it would become later in the series, but it is an observable divergence nonetheless. As such, it reveals something about how these forms were being copied either from memory or from existing examples on an individual and autonomous basis, but with only limited innovation. Most of those cruciform brooches that entered the archaeological record still did so via the destructive temperatures of a cremation pyre, which somewhat

limits our knowledge of their use as well as those who used them. From what we can tell, they seem to have largely been worn by women to fasten *peplos* dresses at the shoulders, though we should not necessarily rule out the possibility that occasionally men and children might have used them to fasten other garments. Our evidence is currently too sparse to make any definitive comment on the matter. The stylistic structure of these early brooches remained very loose and very simple. Although they grew slightly in size, they still do not seem to have been especially ostentatious items. They were also still largely distributed in East Anglia and Lincolnshire. However, it was potentially just the limited westward movement of migrants that made this the case, rather than any conscious regional restriction as it would later become. Indeed, a not inconsiderable number of these items, from probably around the mid-fifth century, spread further west and perhaps also into Kent, though their route into this latter area remains obscure.

Toward the end of the fifth century important changes occurred in what was gradually becoming Anglo-Saxon England. Perhaps the most significant of these developments was the growth of furnished inhumation and the establishment of smaller community cemeteries throughout much of lowland Britain. The rise of this funeral rite permits archaeologists greater insight into aspects of identity. The material remains of the pioneers of this rite tell us that ways of dressing were part and parcel of what was to become a distinctively sixth-century way of doing things, doubtlessly leading to new senses of belonging and of segregation and integration. The fact that cruciform brooches almost simultaneously underwent substantial stylistic changes suggests that they themselves may have been caught up in a closely related process. Their size also increased and they became more elaborately decorated items. By this stage, the craftspeople who made cruciform brooches had evolved a formally structured manner of designing them, whereby each brooch was a composite of prescribed components. Despite the endless variety to which this gave rise, regionally distinct varieties became fairly common, potentially representing the signatures of particular craftspeople or a highly localised statement of identity; probably both. More important than these local variations, however, is the fact that, simultaneously, cruciform brooches became quite stringently restricted to East Anglia, the Eastern Midlands, Lincolnshire and parts of the north-east. Accompanying these changes in kind came an abrupt change in their use. Cruciform brooches became far more frequently used to fasten cloaks than *peplos* dresses. Although it is only at this stage that our data reaches a reasonable quantity and quality for reliable statements, this was probably when brooches started being worn almost exclusively by the oldest women in these communities. Whether or not we refer to the tradition these women bore as 'Anglian' will certainly remain contentious to some while it remains a part of common parlance to others. It seems highly unlikely to me that there is no relation between these women and the Anglian identity described in later literary records. However, the nature of that relationship will probably always be a moot point among archaeologists and historians.

The next crucial moment in the development of cruciform brooches occurred at some point in the second quarter of the sixth century. Not only did they become even more highly elaborate items, almost without exception gilded, but they also became more exclusive, with a much lower rate of deposition in graves. Presumably, these latest products of the Anglo-Saxon Migration Period were one of the means by which an increasingly select elite distinguished themselves. The end of the strictly easterly distribution of cruciform brooches at this point may well be illustrative of more restricted elites looking further up the social hierarchy and hence further afield for competition and alliances. Those latest, ostentatious cruciform brooches may well have been integral to these processes not only as a means by which high-status women displayed and constructed their identities, but also potentially by being the very items of prestige gift exchange upon which alliances were forged.

The quite sudden demise of Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches in the later sixth century potentially raises even more intriguing questions than their astronomical rise in the fifth. This was part of a much broader process that saw the termination of traditional forms of furnished inhumation and the growth of widespread unfurnished or at least minimally furnished graves alongside very few, very rich, so-called 'princely' graves. Simultaneously, those traditionally northern Germanic manners of dressing that had become so ingrained among the female elites of sixth-century Anglo-Saxon society became replaced by far more dainty jewellery fastening clothes more closely related to Frankish or even Byzantine fashions. Regional distinction of feminine dress within Anglo-Saxon England collapsed almost entirely, perhaps bringing the processes commenced in the last phase of cruciform brooches to its ultimate conclusion. The implications of this reorientation are beyond the remit of this book, but it was a transformation experienced in much of Europe and more than likely represented a second sea change in how the inhabitants of eastern lowland Britain saw their world and their place in it. Crucially, it also illustrates how these people modified their own perspective and that of others using dress and jewellery.

The title of this book was an intentional reconfiguration of that used previously in my research, when I took cruciform brooches to be a phenomenon that occurred *in* Anglo-Saxon England, implying that one could be viewed separately for the other.¹ I no longer think this is strictly accurate. It is inappropriate to see the historical past as existing externally to its material remains, as it also is to view either literary or archaeological evidence to be any more authoritative than the other.² An authoritative narrative resides within neither. The past *is* material and textual remains and was, in part, formed from them. Hence, I would prefer to see both objects and texts as mutually creative of the past, rather than mere reflections of it. Scholarship of the last few decades has found considerable theoretical and methodological difficulty detecting the purported Anglians of the fifth and

¹ 'Identity and the cruciform brooch in Anglo-Saxon England', Martin 2011.

² On these theoretical points see Moreland 2001.

sixth centuries from their material remains. This is because most previous work has sought to see identity as an entirely ideological construction that somehow caused objects like cruciform brooches to come into being. In other words, they were looking for a later, literary identity as interpreted from the word of Bede, rather than a much earlier one constructed at least partly using things. I would prefer to argue that Anglian identity was unimaginable without those things.

If situating material culture at the very nub of processes of identity formation in the fifth and sixth centuries was the primary theoretical concern of this book, then its methodological aim was to treat cruciform brooches at all times as a diachronic phenomenon. Cruciform brooches were not a singularity with just one principal message. Not only were they involved in the construction of all kinds of identities, including but not limited to gender, sexuality, age and ethnicity, but they must also be understood as objects whose dramatically morphing physical form over time was caught up with changes in symbolic meaning. Taking this step also means that the fifth and sixth centuries themselves cannot be viewed synchronically. In fact, the relatively reliable chronology of cruciform brooches is one of the key pieces of evidence that permits us to avoid such an approach. By viewing both early Anglo-Saxon England and cruciform brooches as entwined, mutually interdependent and dynamic entities, we can reach a firm conclusion that cruciform brooches never actually equalled an uncontested, primordial sense of 'Anglianness'. These unitary, uncontested and above all imaginary people were a retrospective creation of origin myths set down by Bede. During the fifth and sixth centuries, Anglian identity was more likely to have been an ideal to which people living in eastern post-Roman Britain aspired, regardless of their origins. Those with sufficient resources used cruciform brooches to reify it, to naturalise, legitimate, authorise and encapsulate it in a material form and hence make their association with it seem more genuine and less contestable. Even when the ideal of Anglian identity later became enshrined in notions of kingship and genealogy, it was still an aspiration rather than an uncontested reality. This much is obvious from the frequently wild claims of lineage from which later kings claimed descent.

The final methodological emphasis of this book was the thorough use of context. The contextual approach is nothing new to early medieval archaeology. It has been central to the discipline since the 1980s. Typical considerations include things like spatial or chronological contexts, grave contexts, information gleaned from skeletal analysis, landscape contexts, metallurgical data and, perhaps most obviously, the historical context. Indeed, many of these things have been central to the preceding chapters. The discussions in this book, however, took typology to be a fundamental context in its own right from the very outset, placing it at the centre of discussion. Typological studies are becoming increasingly eschewed as studies for the artefact's sake alone with relevance only to the specialist, the cataloguer or even the collector. This may well occasionally be true. However, if typology is investigated not just as a means of classifying objects, but also as a

means of understanding a series of objects more holistically, then it should and will remain central to material cultural studies. The lack of a typological understanding of any artefact type severely limits our knowledge of it in any other context.

Theoretical and methodological matters aside, it must be stated that the picture presented here is only partial. This is partly due to the selectivity inherent in historical and archaeological survival and recovery. Perhaps more crucially, cruciform brooches were just one kind of item among a much wider material culture of eastern England, some of which, such as wrist-clasps, girdle-hangers, small long and great square-headed brooches, were very closely related indeed. It remains to be seen how compatible the findings of this study are with these other key items from eastern England. For many items, establishing a similar degree of resolution would be harder, as cruciform brooches are relatively unusual for their long and unbroken development, as well as their frequent occurrences in graves. There are also items from beyond eastern England that would merit comparison. The saucer brooches of the so-called Saxon regions to the west would make an obvious candidate, as would the jewellery assemblages from Kentish regions, to which this study could only make oblique reference.

However, Anglo-Saxon England, let alone eastern England, was also just one small corner of the early medieval world. The wearing of large, elaborate brooches was a phenomenon that occurred simultaneously throughout much of Europe. The spread of these items from western Norway and Iberia to Crimea on the Black Sea is astounding in its magnitude, but even more astonishing are the close stylistic links between them, perhaps meriting close comparison with the La Tène culture of pre-Roman Europe. In particular, the spread of Salin's Style I across much of this region in the later fifth and sixth centuries has provoked unanswered questions for more than a century. Brooches are the principal surviving items that carried this deeply enigmatic iconography. Major questions therefore remain concerning the networks between people, between objects, and between people and objects that were potentially fundamental to how these diverse groups saw and negotiated their place in a rapidly changing and frequently violent world.

Traditionally, most of these brooch types have been interpreted to reflect the spread of eastern Germanic, northern Germanic and occasionally Slavic peoples into the regions previously occupied by the Western Empire, be they Franks, Alamanni, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Jutes, Angles, Saxons or Lombards. Sure enough, wherever the historical literature records the influx of such groups, almost without exception, these large and elaborate bow brooches appear. We would not necessarily expect a neat relationship between the historically stated distributions of these identity groups and particular kinds of brooch. Nevertheless, there are some truly fundamental questions about who the people we refer to as 'Germanic' or 'Slavic' really were. Additionally, as was the case for Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches, where series of these brooches appear, they tend to follow internal developments of the regions in which they are found, rather than ones

transplanted from elsewhere. This is a crucial observation that may lead us to question the so-called Germanic nature of this material culture and even what we might mean by that. After all, many of these peoples by this point had been living within the Empire or on its frontiers for more than a century. The case for cruciform brooches in eastern England is a relatively tidy one, though its neatness may well be the result of an intentional and concerted effort by those who wore them to present a group of individuals from quite mixed origins as a singular, ethnic group. However, we would not necessarily expect all of these diverse groups throughout Europe to use material culture, or more specifically, ways of dressing, in the same manner as in eastern England. As discussed above, one of the central tenets of this book was a strictly contextually specific approach. Whether or not it indicates a general model that can be applied to the rest of Europe remains to be tested.

Regardless of these quite specific historical-archaeological questions, there is one more general statement we can make about this brief and turbulent period in Europe's past. Material culture, and dress in particular, was clearly playing a quite special and even perhaps uniquely important role in society. There is no other period in Europe's past when quite so much property was put into so many graves and this should tell us something fundamental about the very particular way in which these societies related to the material world. One might also reverse that statement by saying that objects were affecting these societies in a very specific way. Either way around, the links between people and particular things, especially women and their dress and men and their weaponry, evidently represented something quite profoundly inseverable. Perhaps this was partly to do with a switch from a world governed by central places, perhaps even *the* central places of Rome and Constantinople, to a world whose cosmological order was in flux, more fragmented, more fragile and more reliant upon the centripetal forces of important people, who drew towards them not only subjects but also objects. For the fifth and sixth centuries, the individuals we often end up reflecting upon in this manner are people like Attila, Clovis, Theodoric the Great, Flavius Aetius and Justinian I: people who were primarily military leaders, opportunists bent on extending their influence through the means available to them, which generally ended up being quite bloody. However, there is another whole side to the period, which has more to say about what people somewhat lower down the social scale were doing to extend their influence. For their wearers, cruciform brooches were treasured objects with deeply personal meanings, but also meanings that secured for them a privileged place in the social and cosmological order. For others they were instruments of oppression.

Appendix 1

Cruciform Brooches by Type

This catalogue contains summary details for the 1,384 cruciform brooches that were assignable to a type, sub-group or group. Those items only classified to the sub-group or group level are almost all fragments. The catalogue therefore excludes a further 691 fragments that were part of the dataset but whose typological classification was only very basic. These include 302 knobs (#1,384–1,686), 303 head-plates (#1,687–1989) and eighty-six feet (#1,990–2,075). Although these fall into the fragment types described in Appendix 3, their inclusion here due to limitations on space is not essential. Full details for all brooches can be found in the accompanying electronic dataset. The brooches come from no fewer than sixty-three individual collections and the Portable Antiquities Scheme, the details of which are provided below in the list of abbreviations. All bibliographic references given below refer only to published images. These are not comprehensive, though all efforts have been made towards this endeavour. Hence, where an item is listed as ‘not published’ below, it may well be the case that a publication simply could not be found. In this index the brooches are listed in ascending numerical order, organised at the first level by type, and then alphabetically by the name of the site from which the item originates. See Appendix 2 for a list of the expanded corpus by county and site name. The counties used here are the historical counties of England, and the site name is usually the parish, unless it can be more specific. The brooches illustrated in this book are marked by an asterisk and followed by the appropriate internal reference to a figure or plate.

Abbreviations

AbM	Abingdon Museum	KLM	King's Lynn Museum
AC	Alnwick Castle (Northumberland)	KM	Kettering Museum
AIM	Almonry Museum (Eavesham)	LC	Lincoln Collection
AM	Ashmolean Museum (Oxford)	LiM	Liverpool Museum
BCM	Bristol City Museum	LM	Leicester Museums Archaeological Collection
BeM	Bedford Museum	LoM	Louth Museum
BHM	Baysgarth House Museum (Lincolnshire)	MaM	Manchester Museum
BiM	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery	MH	Moyse's Hall (Bury St Edmunds)
BM	British Museum (London)	MM	Maidstone Museum
BoM	The Bowes Museum (Co. Durham)	NBC	The National Brewery Centre (Burton on Trent)
BuM	Buckingham Museum	NCM	Norwich Castle Museum
BYM	Brewhouse Yard Museum of Nottingham Life	NLMS	North Lincolnshire Museum Service (Scunthorpe)
CAS	Cambridge Archaeology Store	NM	Northampton Museum
CAU	Cambridge Archaeological Unit	NoM	Norris Museum (Huntingdonshire)
ChM	Charnwood Museum (Loughborough)	NSMS	Newark and Sherwood Museum Service
CM	Colchester Museum	OMRC	Oxfordshire Museums Resource Centre
CU	Cornell University (USA)	PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
CUMAA	Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	PM	Peterborough Museum
DeM	Derby Museum and Art Gallery	PRM	Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford)
DH	Drayton House (Northants)	RCM	Rutland County Museum (Oakham)
DM	Dorman Museum (Middlesbrough)	SAS	Suffolk Archaeology Service (Bury St Edmunds)
EEM	Elveden Estate Museum	SBT	The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust (Stratford on Avon)
EM	Ely Museum	SDC	Stockton Discovery Centre (Luton)
ERMC	East Riding Museums Collection	SM	Sheffield Museum
GCLR	Girton College Lawrence Room (Cambridge)	SMT	Sudbury Museum Trust
GM	Grantham Museum	StM	Stockton Museums
GNM	Great North Museum (Tyne and Wear)	UNMA	University of Nottingham Museum of Archaeology
HC	Hattatt Collection	WBM	West Berkshire Museum (Newbury)
HeM	Hertford Museum	WM	Warwickshire Museum (Warwick)
HERM	Hull and East Riding Museum	WoM	Worcester Museum
HM	The Herbert Museum and Art Gallery (Coventry)	WSM	West Stow Museum
IM	Ipswich Museum	YM	Yorkshire Museum

Type 1.1.1 ("Empingham")

1. Abingdon, Oxfordshire, grave 122.
AbM: accession number unknown.
Leeds and Bradford 1942, Pl. VIIIa; Dickinson 1976, Fig. 10b.
- *2. Cleatham, Lincs, grave 9.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Figure 7.2.
Leahy 2007, 176, Fig. 80, no. 06.
3. Empingham I, Rutland.
RCM: accession number unknown.
Hines 1984, 378, Fig. 1.6.
4. Little Dunham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-31F633
5. Mildenhall I (Warren Hills), Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1904.149.
Åberg 1926, 34, Fig. 44; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 75, no. 14.
6. Nassington, Northamptonshire, grave 17.
PM: accession number unknown.
Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXV, no. 17;
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 79, no. 5.
- *7. North Kelsey I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-C24C12.
Figure 7.1.
8. Quidenham III, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS908.
9. Sudbury, Suffolk.
SMT: accession number unknown.
Not published.
10. Surlingham, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-81CB80.
11. Wickham Skeith II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-F3B6F1.

Type 1.1.2 ("St John's")

12. Acle, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-B42AD2.
13. Ashwell I, Herts.
PAS: BH-B16C61.
14. Aswellthorpe II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-91CB12.
15. Barningham I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-A79624.
16. Chichester, Sussex.
PAS: SUSS-2122B4.
17. Coltishall I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-B85C06.
18. Eye IV, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-1B1B51.
19. Falkenham II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-4AF740.
20. Foulsham I, Norfolk
PAS: NMS-DB9FD3.
- *21. Glaston, Rutland, grave 7.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.79.
Plate 1.3.
Leeds and Barber 1950, plate 26, no. 7;
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 82, no. 6.
- *22. Glentham, Lincs.
LC: 14.78.
Figure 7.5.
Everson 1978, 86, Fig. 4, no. 1; Hines 1984, 377, Fig. 1.4.
23. Hinderclay I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 165, Fig. 48, no. 7.
24. Hob Hill, Teesside.
DM: 1924/40/7.
Gallagher 1987, 10, Fig. 2 no. 7.

25. Hockwold-cum-Wilton I, Norfolk.
NCM: NWHCM:2007.419.183:A.
Hines 1984, 377, Fig. 1.3.

Plate 1.2.
Åberg 1926, 34, Fig. 46; Reichstein 1975, Pl.
115, no. 5.

26. Horham II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-409203.

37. St Margaret South Elmham I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF10199.

*27. Ixworth I, Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.450
Plate 1.4.

38. Thorndon II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-0E28A7.

Åberg 1926, 34, Fig. 48; Reichstein 1975, Pl.
118, no. 2; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.1; MacGregor
and Bolick 1993, 97, no. 12.2; West 1998, 218,
Fig. 100, no. 8.

39. Tuddenham St Martin VII, Suffolk.
Private collection.
Martin, Pendleton and Plouviez 1999, 360, Fig.
95a.

28. Kempston, Beds.
BeM: 3859
Leeds 1933, Pl. XXXIIIb; Reichstein 1975, Pl.
118, no. 5.

40. Unprovenanced 12, Suffolk.
HC: 1298.
West 1998, 254, Fig. 136, no. 1.

29. Kirby Cane, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 313, Fig. 5, no. 23755/2.

41. Wenhaston I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
Martin *et al.* 1990, 151, Fig. 25, bottom left;
West 1998, 251, Fig. 133, no. 11.

30. Littlebourne I, Kent.
PAS: KENT2343.

42. Wenhaston with Mells Hamlet II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-307773

31. Marsh Chapel, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-BBFB23

43. Wortwell I, Suffolk.
PAS: NMS-32D6E3

32. Miningsby, Lincs.
PAS: NCL-EF51D5.

Sub-group 1.1

33. Northrepps II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-963528.

44. Attleborough III, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-32D6E3.

34. Salthouse I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-D73AD5.

45. Barrington, Cambs.
Private collection.
Malim and Hines 1998, 201, Fig. 5.1.

*35. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: A 1904.534B.
Figure 7.3.

46. Blaxhall II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-56B822.

Plate 1.1
Åberg 1926, 34, Fig. 47; Reichstein 1975, Pl.
115, no. 3.

47. Bridlington I, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-1F5757.

*36. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: A 1904.534A.
Figure 7.4.

48. Caistor I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-765404.

49. Cliffe and Cliffe Woods I, Kent.
PAS: KENT-B40054.
50. Coddanham VIII, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 135, Fig. 19, no. 2.
51. Collingham IV, Nottinghamshire.
Private collection.
Laing 2005, 84, Fig. 3, no. 9.
52. Foulsham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-DD9221.
53. Foulsham VI, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-DD9221.
54. Freckenham IX, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-19B413.
55. Gislingham I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-BBDBB7.
56. Great Mongeham I, Kent.
PAS: KENT-FE9F77.
57. Great Mongeham III, Kent.
PAS: KENT5073.
58. Headbourne Worthy I, Hants.
PAS: HAMP-16ECF4.
59. Headbourne Worthy II, Hants.
PAS: HAMP1382.
60. Hindringham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-33A0B5.
61. Hoby with Rotherby V, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-ADABE0.
62. Howell, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1994.043.001.
Not published.
63. Ipswich II, Suffolk.
SAS: IAS 4801.1918.
West 1998, 214, Fig. 96, no. 5.
64. Mickfield I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF10493.
65. Newton Flotman I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-CE9595.
66. Preston St Mary I, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Martin *et al.* 2001, 71, Fig. 17b.
67. Shorewell, Isle of Wight.
BM: 2006.0305.81.
Not published.
68. Shotesham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-F656D7.
69. South Elmham St Margaret, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 244, Fig. 126, no. 6.
70. South Ferriby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM6042.
71. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 1034.
NCM: 1034/1.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.
72. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 1216.
NCM: 1216/1.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.
73. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 2197.
NCM: 2197
Hills and Penn 1981, 223, Fig. 137.
74. Sutton II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-BDC342.
75. Trumpington, Cambs.
CUMAA: Z21371.
Åberg 1926, 34, Fig. 45.
76. Tuddenham St Martin III, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 247, Fig. 129, no. 2.
77. Winchester I, Hants.
PAS: HAMP3678.

Type 1.2.1 ("Bolingbroke")

*78. Appleby II, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-BDC012.
Plate 8.2.

79. Beachamwell II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-D25A37.

*80. Binbrook I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-0F8313.
Plate 2.2.

*81. Bolingbroke, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-616AB3.
Figure 8.1.

82. Burnham Market I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-C576A3.

83. Castledyke South, Lincs, grave 156.
NLMS: Accession number unknown.
Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 187, Fig. 101, no. 3.

84. Churchover (Bransford Bridge), Warks.
WM: Accession number unknown.
Akerman 1855, 35, Pl. XVIII, no. 2; Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XL, no. 1; Schetelig 1906, 98, Fig. 116.

85. Cliddesden, Hants.
PAS: BERK-F0E3B7.

86. Colchester (Guildford Road Estate), Essex.
CM: Accession number unknown.
Crummy 1981, 10, Fig. 13.5.

87. Eye I, Suffolk
SAS: Accession number unknown.
Not published.

88. Feltwell I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-C13F18.

89. Fransham V, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-FEE701.

90. Holme, Nottinghamshire.
PAS: DENO-D5FB38.

91. Lackford, Suffolk, cremation 50,114A.
CUMAA: 1950.114 A.2.
Lethbridge 1951, 44, Fig. 22.

92. Lenton Keisby and Osgodby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-98D8F5.

93. Little Shelford I, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-09F5D4.

94. Middle Rasen I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-ED5CD1.

*95. Scole IV, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-0E8C32.
Plate 2.1.

96. South Elkington, Lincs, cremation 27.
Unknown collection
Webster 1951, 59, Fig. 18, no. 27.

97. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 2195.
NCM: 2195.
Hills and Penn 1981, 224, Fig. 138.

98. Sutton III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-E44471.

99. Tuddenham St Martin II, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 246, Fig. 128, no. 11.

100. Worth I, Kent.
PAS: KENT-2BB066.

Type 1.2.2 ("Little Waldringfield")

101. Appleby II, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-6B7CB3.

102. Barrow upon Soar I, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-9AF5B3; LEIC-9B5997.

103. Baston II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-114771.

*104. Baston III, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-B44DE6.

- Figure 8.3.
Plate 2.3.
105. Bawburgh I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-093865.
106. Braiseworth II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-2FDD16.
- *107. Brixworth I, Northamptonshire.
NM: D.17/1955–6
Plate 2.5.
Åberg 1926, 36, Fig. 53; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 118, no. 3.
108. Burston, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 307, Fig. 2, no. 1.
109. Cavenham I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 133, no. 1.
- *110. Claxby I, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2000.028.
Plate 2.4.
111. Cleatham, Lincs, cremation 459.
NLMS: MT86RI.
Leahy 2007, 135, Fig. 68.
112. Cley next the Sea II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-A418B7.
113. Coddensham VII, Suffolk.
Private collection.
Martin, Pendleton and Plouviez 2000, 503, Fig. 154a.
114. Colchester I (Guildford Road Estate), Essex.
CM: accession number unknown.
Crummy 1981, 10, Fig. 13.4; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.2.
115. Cold Newton I, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-B80287.
116. Colney I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-512284.
117. Congham IX, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-6C58B7.
118. Deopham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-08BA48.
119. East Barkwith I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-290724.
- *120. East Shefford, Berks.
WBM: 1912/G.10.
Plate 3.1.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLI, no. 6; Åberg 1926, 35, Fig. 52; Leeds 1933, Pl. XXXIV (left); Reichstein 1975, Pl. 85, no. 3; Dickinson 1976, Fig. 10e.
121. Empingham I, Rutland.
RCM: Accession number unknown.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 118, no. 1.
122. Eye I, Suffolk.
SAS: EYE 083 1406.
Not published.
123. Eye I, Suffolk.
SAS: EYE 083 1475.
Not published.
124. Eye I, Suffolk.
SAS: EYE 083 1077.
Not published.
125. Finningham III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-5B25C7.
126. Frilford, Oxfordshire, unnumbered grave.
CU: Accession number unknown.
Leeds 1933, Pl. XXXIIIc; Dickinson 1976, Fig. 10d.
127. Frilford, Oxfordshire, unnumbered grave.
CU: Accession number unknown.
Not published.

128. Fring I, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Gurney 1993, 518, Fig. 2a.
129. Glaston, Rutland, grave 11.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.80.
Leeds and Barber 1950, Pl. 26, no. 11;
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 85, no. 4.
130. Great Finborough, Suffolk.
PAS: SF9549.
131. Holme Pierrepont, Nottinghamshire.
SM: Unknown accession number.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XL, no. 5.
132. Langford I, Nottinghamshire.
PAS: DENO-3E87D2.
133. Lighthorne I, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-948872.
134. Little Waldringfield, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-CFE6A7.
135. Market Rasen III, Lincs.
PAS: LEIC-BB3326.
136. Pakenham I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 237, Fig. 119, no. 2.
137. Roxby cum Risby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-DE6635.
- *138. Rudston I, Yorks.
BM: 1876,0212.8.
Plate 3.3.
Schetelig 1906, 100, Fig. 120; Åberg 1926, 36,
Fig. 54; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 87, no. 3; Mortimer
1990, Fig. 2.3.
- *139. Rudston I, Yorks.
BM: 1876,0212.9.
Plate 3.4.
Åberg 1926, 36, Fig. 54; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 87,
no. 4.
- *140. Sleaford I, Lincs, grave 66.
BM: 1883,0401.119.
- Figure 8.4.
Plate 3.2.
Åberg 1926, 37, Fig. 57; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 87,
no. 5.
141. Snainton I, Yorks
PAS: YORYM732.
142. South Ferriby II, Lincs.
HERM: KINCM:2005.1221.23.
Not published.
143. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 1072.
NCM: 1072/1.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.
144. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 1168.
NCM: 1168/1.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.
145. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 1168.
NCM: 1168/4.
Hills 1977, 195, Fig. 108.
146. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 1468.
NCM: 1468/1.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.
147. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 1468.
NCM: 1468/2.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.
148. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 1469.
NCM: 1469/1.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.
149. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 2656.
NCM: 2656/1.
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1987, 172, Fig. 92 and
Pl. VIIId; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.6.
150. Spong Hill, Norfolk, cremation 2997.
NCM: 2997/1.
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1994, 205, Fig. 102.
151. St Margaret South Elmham VI, Suffolk.
PAS: SF9899
152. Stone, Bucks.
BuM: arc04544.
Not published.

153. Tuddenham St Martin VI, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-60CB32.

154. Unprovenanced 16, Suffolk.
HC: 661.
West 1998, 257, Fig. 139, no. 1.

155. Unprovenanced 21, Yorks.
YM: 44.47.
Åberg 1926, 35, Fig. 50 ("Driffield");
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 88, no. 1.
Note: Åberg 1926 labels this item from
Driffield, though Yorkshire Museum holds no
records suggestion this may be the case.

156. Welton I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-CEEF7.

157. West Lindsey I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4521.

158. West Stow, Suffolk.
IM: 1962-146.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XL, no. 4; West 1998,
251, Fig. 133, no. 13.

159. West Stow SFB6, Suffolk, sunken feature
building 6.
WSM: 1988.146.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 118, no. 4; West 1985, Fig.
42, no. 2.

Sub-group 1.2

160. Billingford I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-CE5084.

161. Blaxhall I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF3873.

162. Carlton Colville I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-4F3748.

163. Cleatham, Lincs, cremation 140.
NLMS: MT84KC.
Leahy 2007, 135, Fig. 68.

164. Coddenham V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-5BDB00.

165. Eastry I, Kent.
PAS: KENT-E20A75.

166. Flixton I, Suffolk.
SAS: FLN 008:0061.
Boulter and Walton Rogers 2012, 199, Fig. 15.3.

167. Fransham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-10D9B8.

168. Lackford, Suffolk, cremation 48,2282.
CUMAA: 1948.2282 B.
Lethbridge 1951, 24, Fig. 2.

169. Lackford, Suffolk, cremation 48,2491.
CUMAA: 1948.2491 B.
Lethbridge 1951, 24, Fig. 2.

170. Langham I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-FA3385.

171. Lingwood and Burlingham, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-9C0303.

172. Market Weighton II, Yorks.
PAS: LVPL-B25454.

173. Mattishall V, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-93B2B1.

174. Middle Rasen I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-CBB0E7.

175. Mildenhall VII, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-C8C150.

176. Millgate, Nottinghamshire, cremation
217.
NSMS: 21/15.69.1.

177. Northbourne I, Kent.
PAS: KENT-FF2971.

178. Northrepps I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-9657E1.

179. Orston II, Nottinghamshire.
PAS: NLM5986.

180. Oxborough I, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn 1988, 14, Fig. 11, no. 2.

181. Ripple I, Kent.
PAS: KENT4960.

182. Shorewell, Isle of Wight.
BM: 2006.0305.80.
Not published.

183. South Kesteven VII, Lincs.
PAS: NLM959.

184. Spong Hill, cremation 1168, Norfolk.
NCM: 1168/2.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.

185. Spong Hill, cremation 1168, Norfolk.
NCM: 1168/3.
Hills 1977, 195, Fig. 108.

186. Thorndon II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-0E5E27.

187. Totland I, Isle of Wight.
PAS: IOW-5E8C03.

188. Tuddenham St Martin III, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 247, Fig. 129, no. 5.

189. Upton with Fishley I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-442950.

190. Upwell, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-D4F917.

191. West Acre I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-6BC796.

192. Yaxley IX, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-FE1D37.

Type 2.1.1 ("Cleatham")

193. Alveston Manor, grave 70, Warks.
SBT: STRST:SBT 2000-72/166.

Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 48, Fig. 16g;
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 90, no. 3.

194. Beesby with Salesby, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4686.

195. Bifrons, Kent.
MM: accession number unknown
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XXXV, no. 5; Pl. LXX;
Åberg 1926, 29, Fig. 34; Leeds 1936, Pl. XII;
Hawkes 2000, 71, Fig. 42, no. 71.

196. Billingford II, Norfolk.
NMS-D5F811.

197. Broughton Lodge, Nottinghamshire.
BYM: NCM 1966-38/560.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 109, no. 1; Kinsley 1993,
163, Fig. 92, no. 203.

198. Churchover (Bransford Bridge), Warks.
WM: accession number unknown.
Akerman 1855, 35, Pl. XVIII, no. 5.

199. Cleatham, Lincs.
NLMS: US114.
Leahy 2007, 140, Fig. 71, no. 114.

200. Cleatham, grave 36, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Figure 11.1.
Leahy 2007, 190, Fig. 94, no. 02.

201. Cleatham, grave 62, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Leahy 2007, 198, Fig. 102, no. 01.

202. Dover II, Kent.
PAS: KENT-B45E97.
*203. Eriswell I (Lakenheath Airfield), grave
28, Suffolk.
WSM: K105.
Plate 4.2.

204. Flitcham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-B8A517.

205. Frisby IV, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-7B1C98.

206. Girton, Cambs.
GCLR: 734.
Not published.
- *207. Girton, grave 7, Cambs.
CUMAA: A 1906.295.
Plate 4.1.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 92, no. 7.
- *208. Girton, grave 7, Cambs.
CUMAA: D 1924.20A.
Plate 36.1.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 92, no. 4; Martin 2012, 57, Fig. 3b.
209. Hardingham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-9EF694.
210. Haslingfield, Cambs.
BM: 1874,0326.4.
Not published.
211. Haslingfield, Cambs.
PRM: Raphael 1919.
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.15.
212. Kirby Cane, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 311, Fig. 4, no. 1.
213. Lackford, cremation 50,71, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1950.71 B.1.
Lethbridge 1951, 36, Fig. 14.
214. Lakenheath III (Undley Fen), Suffolk.
CUMAA: 33.540.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 119, no. 2; West 1998, 231, Fig. 113, no. 1.
215. Ludford I, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-029546.
216. Mattishall II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-D622F4.
217. Measham II, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-218570.
218. Middle Rasen II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-4AFCD4.
219. Morning Thorpe, grave 90, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 90 Ai.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 226, Fig. 323ai.
220. Morning Thorpe, grave 90, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 90 Aii.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 226, Fig. 323aii.
221. Morning Thorpe, grave 346, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 346E.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 314, Fig. 411c and 366, Pl. XX; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.7.
222. Morning Thorpe, grave 362, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 362J.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 327, Fig. 424ji.
223. Nassington, Northamptonshire.
CUMAA: 1974.321.
Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXV, 'Pa';
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 92, no. 3.
224. Palgrave I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-F132F5.
225. Quidenham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS502.
Plate 42.6.
226. Quidenham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS502.
227. Roydon I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-8FE032.
228. Sewerby, grave 12, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS: 1993.1454.
Hirst 1985, 123, Fig. 36 no. 4.
229. Spong Hill, grave 26, Norfolk.
NCM: G26(5a).
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 130, Fig. 83, no. 5.

*230. St John's, Cambs.

CUMAA: 1888.30.67A.

Plate 4.3.

Reichstein 1975, Pl. 92, no. 1.

*231. St John's, Cambs.

CUMAA: 1888.30.67B.

Plate 4.4.

Reichstein 1975, Pl. 92, no. 2.

232. St John's, Cambs.

CUMAA: 1888.30.94.

Reichstein 1975, Pl. 109, no. 4.

*233. St John's, grave 8, Cambs.

CUMAA: 1888.30.28.

Plate 5.1.

Reichstein 1975, Pl. 108, no. 3.

234. Stillington and Whitton II, Co. Durham.

PAS: NCL-18E034.

235. Tallington I, grave 8, Lincs.

LC: accession number not known.

Albone and Leahy 2000, 154, Fig. 9, no. 1.

236. Tallington I, grave 9, Lincs.

LC: accession number not known.

Albone and Leahy 2000, 155, Fig. 10, no. 4.

237. Unprovenanced.

BM: 1912,0528.34.

Not published.

*238. West Stow, Suffolk.

BM: 1856,0701.5174.

Plate 5.2.

Schetelig 1906, 100, Fig. 121; Åberg 1926, 38, Fig. 61; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 96, no. 1; West 1985, Fig. 256, no. 6.

239. Westgarth Gardens, grave 61, Suffolk.

WSM: 1976.455.

West 1988, 62, Fig. 80c1.

240. Westgarth Gardens, grave 61, Suffolk.

WSM: 1976.455.

West 1988, 62, Fig. 80c2.

Type 2.1.2 ("Oakington")

241. Aldwincle I, Nothants.

PAS: DENO-C68627.

242. Alveston Manor, grave 70, Warks.

SBT: STRST:SBT 2000-72/165.

Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 48, Fig. 16f;

Reichstein 1975, Pl. 90, no. 5.

243. Bergh Apton, grave 5, Norfolk.

NCM: BEA 5C.

Green and Rogerson 1978, 51, Fig. 66c;

Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.11; Hines 1993, 58, Fig. 109.

244. Bergh Apton, grave 37, Norfolk.

NCM: BEA 37A.

Green and Rogerson 1978, 71, Fig. 86a; Hines 1993, 66, Fig. 125e.

245. Buckingham I, Bucks.

PAS: NARC3400.

246. Bunwell I, Norfolk.

PAS: NMS-AFD276.

247. Caythorpe, Lincs.

BYM: NCM 1899-101.

248. Cleatham, grave 30, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS.2006.074.

Leahy 2007, 185, Fig. 89, no. 16.

249. Cleatham, grave 30, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS.2006.074.

Leahy 2007, 185, Fig. 89, no. 17.

250. Cleatham, grave 41, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS.2006.074.

Leahy 2007, 192, Fig. 96, no. 01.

251. Cleatham, grave 41, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS.2006.074.

Leahy 2007, 192, Fig. 96, no. 02.

252. Collingham IV, Notts.

Private collection.

Laing 2005, 84, Fig. 3, no. 10.

253. Deopham IV, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-BA6DE0.
254. Felixstowe, Suffolk.
IM: 1962.144.
West 1998, 162, Fig. 45, no. 3.
255. Fransham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-111912.
256. Heckington III, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-D481A6.
257. Hoby with Rotherby III, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-DAF0F0.
- *258. Holywell Row, grave 48, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7128A.
Plate 6.2.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 94, no. 5; Hines 1993, 55, Fig. 103 (bottom right).
- *259. Holywell Row, grave 48, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7128D
Figure 11.2.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 94, no. 3; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 3.32; Hines 1993, 55, Fig. 103 (bottom left).
260. Islip I, Northants.
NM: D19/1959–60.
Åberg 1926, 37, Fig. 56; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 109, no. 2.
261. Islip II, Northants.
PAS: DENO-DECC97.
262. Kenninghall I, Norfolk.
AM: AN 1909.354.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 98, no. 12.6.
263. Knettishall I, Norfolk.
PAS: SF-EFF9B0.
264. Kirby Cane, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 311, Fig. 4, no. 2.
265. Little Wilbraham I, grave 31, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1347A.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 96, no. 2.
266. Little Wilbraham I, grave 31, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1347B.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 96, no. 3.
- *267. Little Wilbraham I, grave 73, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1401B.
Plate 6.1.
Schetelig 1906, 99, Fig. 119; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 107, no. 5; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.10.
268. Mautby I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-C078A2.
269. Middle Rasen I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-C56EC0.
270. Morning Thorpe, grave 30, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 30J.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 208, Fig. 305k; Hines 1993, 51, Fig. 97.
271. Morning Thorpe, grave 30, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 30K.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 208, Fig. 305j.
272. Morning Thorpe, grave 90, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 90 Aiii.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 226, Fig. 323aiii.
273. Navenby, Lincs.
PAS: LVPL-846748.
274. North Kesteven II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-5035A7.
275. Oakington, grave 20, Cambs.
CAS: OAKQW94 SF12.
Taylor, Duhig and Hines 1997, 86, no. 6.
276. Scole VI, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-CCC0B2.
277. Snape, grave 10, Suffolk.
SAS: SNP007 0816.
Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 127, Fig. 85a.

278. Snape, grave 10, Suffolk.
SAS: SNP007 0817.
Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 128, Fig. 86c.
279. Snape, grave 14.
SAS: SNP 0784.
Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 132, Fig. 90d.
280. South Ferriby II, Lincs.
HERM: KINCM:2005.1221.26
Not published.
281. Spong Hill, cremation 3055, Norfolk.
NCM: 3055/2.
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1994, 205, Fig. 102.
282. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1888.30.60A.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 95, no. 9.
283. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1888.30.60B.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 95, no. 3.
284. Stanton by Bridge I, Derbs.
PAS: DENO-563235.
285. Stoneham Aspal I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 245, Fig. 127, no. 6.
- *286. Trumpington, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1883.519.
Plate 35.2.
Åberg 1926, 37, Fig. 60.
287. Tuddenham St Martin IV, Suffolk.
PAS: SF8939.
288. Unprovenanced, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-5C1012.
289. Wasperton, grave 17, Warks.
WM: A7112.
Carver, Hills and Scheschkewitz 2009, 162, no. 1 and 55, Fig. 4.8, no. 17/1.
290. Wasperton, grave 17, Warks.
WM: A7113.
291. Wasperton, grave 167, Warks.
WM: A7153.
Carver, Hills and Scheschkewitz 2009, 310, no. 1 and 55, Fig. 4.8, no. 167/1.
292. Wasperton, grave 167, Warks.
WM: A7152.
Carver, Hills and Scheschkewitz 2009, 310, no. 2 and 55, Fig. 4.8, no. 167/2.
293. Wenhamston I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 251, Fig. 133, no. 10.
294. West Heslerton, grave 84, Yorks.
With excavator: 2B73AH.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 134.
295. West Stow, Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.429.
West 1985, Fig. 256, no. 3; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 97, no. 12.4.
296. Westgarth Gardens, grave 52, Suffolk.
WSM: 1976.455.
West 1988, 59, Fig. 77a; Hines 1993, 61, Fig. 115c.
297. Wickenby VIII, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-8D13E2.
298. Wilberfoss I, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-F95A11.
299. Wood Enderby I, Lincs.
PAS: NCL-B11207.

Type 2.1.3 ("Bergh Apton")

300. Barrington, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.263.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLI, no. 2; Åberg 1926, 36, Fig. 55; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 84, no. 9; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.5; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 97, no. 12.3.

301. Barrow upon Trent I, Derbs.
PAS: DENO-545477.
302. Bergh Apton, grave 6, Norfolk.
NCM: BEA 6B.
Green and Rogerson 1978, 52, Fig. 67bi.
303. Binbrook I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-FAF9D4.
304. Burston, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 307, Fig. 2, no. 2.
- *305. Cleatham, grave 41, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Plate 7.1.
Leahy 2007, 192, Fig. 96, no. 03.
- *306. Cranwich, Norfolk.
BM: 1982,0101.1.
Plate 7.2.
307. Dunton I, Beds.
PAS: NMS-49AD97.
308. Fonaby, grave 35, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 35, Fig. 12, no. 1.
309. Ganton Wold, Yorks.
BM: 1876,0212.4.
Not published.
310. Harmston I, Lincs.
PAS: DENO-2E23E4.
311. Kibworth Beauchamp, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-B8DD97.
312. Kibworth Beauchamp, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-B8DD97.
313. Lackford, cremation 50,127, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1950.127B.
Lethbridge 1951, 36, Fig. 14.
- *314. Little Wilbraham I, grave 143, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1441.
- Figure 12.1.
Schetelig 1906, 98, Fig. 118; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 108, no. 1.
315. Loughborough, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-094F54.
316. Middle Rasen II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-A2D701.
317. North Cave II, Yorks.
PAS: SWYOR-485B34.
318. North Kesteven III, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-506826.
319. North Luffenham, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.114.
Not published.
320. North Luffenham, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.114.
Not published.
321. Osbournby VII, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-3054A2.
322. South Ferriby II, Lincs.
HERM: KINCM:2005.1221.24.
Not published.
323. Thimbleby III, Lincs.
PAS: DENO-0F2FF4.
324. Titchmarsh, Northants.
PAS: NARC-94C321.
325. Torksey I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-B69663.
326. Unprovenanced, Suffolk.
IM: 1935-158.15.
West 1998, 254, Fig. 136, no. 2.
327. Wanlip, Northants.
PAS: NMS-340401.
328. West Acre II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-340401.

329. West Hendred, Oxon.
OMRC: OXCMS.1990.21.1.
Hamerow 1993, 117, Pl. I, no. 1a and 115, Fig. 3, no. 1a.
330. West Hendred, Oxon.
OMRC: OXCMS.1990.21.2.
Plate 40.2.
Hamerow 1993, 117, Pl. I, no. 1b and 115, Fig. 3, no. 1b.
331. Wickenby I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-3B4676.
332. Wickham Skeith VI, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-6BE160.
- Type 2.1.4 ("Sancton")**
333. Baston II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-8F76E5.
334. Burgate I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-8F04A7.
335. Castledyke South, grave 136, Lincs.
NLMS: accession number unknown
Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 182, Fig. 96, no. 1.
336. Cleatham, Lincs.
NLMS: MTDE65.
Leahy 2007, 139, Fig. 70, no. 005.
337. Driffield, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-A3D9A7.
338. East Barkwith II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-E85576.
339. East Shefford, Berks.
WBM: 1912/G.10.
Åberg 1926, 39, Fig. 64; Leeds 1933, Pl. XXXIV (right); Reichstein 1975, Pl. 85, no. 3; Dickinson 1976, Fig. 10e.
340. Eye V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-4BA2A6.
341. Fincham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-9CBA90.
342. Great Dunham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-E045E4.
343. Greetham with Somersby I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-664205.
344. Hardingham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-9EF694.
345. Holywell Row, grave 79, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7145.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 105, no. 1.
- *346. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.466.
Plate 8.1.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 99, no. 1; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 100, no. 12.12; West 1998, 168, Fig. 51, no. 4.
347. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk.
BM: 1852,0626.4.
Schetelig 1906, 98, Fig. 117; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 99, no. 2; West 1998, 171, Fig. 54, no. 6.
348. Keelby I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-895D86.
349. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1898.208.
West 1998, 223, Fig. 105, no. 13.
350. North Hykeham I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-DB46D1.
351. North Kesteven VIII, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-6EBA65.
352. Oxborough III, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-A98EE6.
353. Rothley, Leics.
ChM: L.A.49.1896.
Not published.
354. Rudston III, Yorks.
PAS: NLM-692811.

- *355. Sancton, Yorks.
AM: AN 1886.1341a.
Figure 12.2.
Leeds 1913, 76, Fig. 13; Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLI, no. 3; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 90, no. 1; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 100, no. 12.11.
356. Sheffield's Hill, grave 108, Lincs.
NLMS: not accessioned.
Not published.
357. South Clifton, Notts.
PAS: NLM-B64AE2.
358. South Willingham, Lincs.
BM: 1876,0401.11.
Not published.
359. Stillington and Whitton I, Co. Durham.
PAS: NCL-18F856.
360. Tathwell I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-861035.
361. Wangford, Suffolk.
BiM: A211.58.
West 1998, 250, Fig. 132, no. 9.
362. West Heslerton, grave 78, Yorks.
With excavator: 2BA100AA.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 123.
363. West Heslerton, grave 78, Yorks.
With excavator: 2BA100AB
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 123.
364. West Lindsey IV, Lincs.
PAS: NLM5772.
- *365. West Stow, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z20454.
Plate 8.2.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 90, no. 2; West 1985, Fig. 257, no. 1.
367. Coddensham IX, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 135, Fig. 19, no. 5.
368. Folkingham II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-6BF926.
369. Frisby I, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-5B2336.
370. Keelby I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-AC3AB3.
371. Linwood I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-4DE6D2.
372. Market Bosworth II, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-EE2F30.
373. Mulbarton I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-C624D7.
374. Normanton on Trent I, Notts.
PAS: LIN-E3D7E2.
375. Osbournby III, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-91E233.
376. Osbournby IV, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-95F7C4.
377. Oxborough I, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn 1998, 14, Fig. 11, no. 1.
378. Rillington I, Yorks.
PAS: DUR-518F44.
379. Sleaford I, grave 189, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.391.
Not published.
380. South Carlton, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-E1D6E3.
381. Spong Hill, cremation 62, Norfolk.
NCM: 62/1.
Hills 1977, 196, Fig. 109.

Sub-group 2.1

366. Brigstock I, Northants.
PAS: NARC3422.

382. Swaffham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-F39731.

383. Uprovenanced, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-4ECAE2.

384. Wickham Skeith III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-691217.

Type 2.2.1 ("Owersby")

385. Aylesby II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM2879.

386. Banham II, Norfolk.
PAS: SF-F9A406.

387. Brigstock I, Northants.
PAS: NARC-506084.

388. Carlton Colville II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-A81822.

389. Coddenham IV, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-AF5873.

390. Coddenham X, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 135, Fig. 19, no. 14.

391. Drinkstone I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-6C62F7.

392. Edingley I, Notts.
PAS: DENO-808BF3.

393. Gunthorpe II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-89F4F1.

394. Hevingham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-01D0C8.

395. Holywell Row, grave 69, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7142A.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 94, no. 7; Mortimer 1990,
Fig. 2.9.

396. Keelby I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-FC0A54.

397. Kenninghall II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-8B1A10.

398. Langford III, Notts.
PAS: DENO-0001E2.

*399. Little Wilbraham I, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1953.102.1.
Plate 9.1.

*400. Little Wilbraham I, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1953.102.2.
Plate 9.2.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 115, no. 9.

401. Measham I, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-B99CE7.

402. Middle Rasen I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-F18483.

403. North Luffenham, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.116.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 85, no. 5.

*404. Owersby, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1982.89.
Figure 12.1.
Plate 9.3.
Whitwell and Wilson 1969, Fig. 4, no. 3.

405. Tuddenham St Martin V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-5E1987.

406. Wakerley, grave 1, Northants.
NM: accession number unknown.
Adams and Jackson 1989, 80, Fig. 8 no. 2.

407. Wasperton, grave 111, Warks.
WM: A7133.
Carver, Hills and Scheschkewitz 2009, 256, no.
1 and 54, Fig. 4.7, no. 111/1

408. Wigston Magna, Leics.
Private collection.
Liddle and Middleton 1994, 70, Fig. 4 no. 3.

409. Worlington I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-FC3904.

Type 2.2.2 ("Hatton")

410. Akenham II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-4D4692.

411. Akenham III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-C802B6.

412. Ancaster, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1909.239.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 91, no. 1.

413. Ash II, Kent.
PAS: KENT4438.

414. Baginton, Warks.
HM: A/1013/10.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 91, no. 2.

415. Baginton, Warks.
HM: A-1013-11(1).
Not published.

416. Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambs.
CUMAA: Z21328.
Leeds 1913, 76, Fig. 13; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 91, no. 3.

417. Barrington B (Hooper's Field), Cambs.
CUMAA: unknown accession.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 91, no. 5.

418. Barrington B (Hooper's Field), Cambs.
CUMAA: unknown accession number
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 91, no. 6.

419. Borrough on the Hill I, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-4E5E85.

420. Congham IV, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-E586A2.

421. Corbridge, Northumb.
Stolen.
Knowles and Forster 1909, Fig. 25, right;
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 95, no. 2.

422. Elsham I, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:1999.051.
Not published.

423. Freckenham X, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-1DB206.

424. Girton, grave 33, Cambs.
CUMAA: D1924.14b.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 86, no. 6.

425. Haslingfield, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.238ii.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 99, no. 12.8
(right).

426. Haslingfield, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.238i.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 99, no. 12.8 (left).

*427. Hatton I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1947.42.
Plate 10.2.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 93, no. 1.

428. Hoby with Rotherby IV, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-0EA8D3.

429. Holme Pierrepont, Notts.
BM: 1931,0313.10.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 118, no. 6.

430. Holywell Row, grave 48, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7128B.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 94, no. 2; Hines 1993, 55,
Fig. 103 (top left).

431. Holywell Row, grave 48, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7128C.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 94, no. 1; Hines 1993, 55,
Fig. 103 (bottom middle).

432. Illington, cremation 3, Norfolk.
NCM: accession number unknown.
Davison, Green and Milligan 1993, 79, Fig. 38,
no. 3a.

433. Illington, cremation 101, Norfolk.
NCM: NWHCM:1950.220.2:A.
Davison, Green and Milligan 1993, 79, Fig. 38,
no. 101a.

- *434. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1899.93.
Plate 10.1.
West 1998, Fig. 105, no. 12.
435. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1899.94A.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 85, no. 6; West 1998, 223, Fig. 105, no. 14.
436. Little Wilbraham I, grave 173–4, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1463A.
Åberg 1926, 38, Fig. 62.
437. Mildenhall I (Warren Hills), Suffolk.
BiM: A207–58.
West 1998, 233, Fig. 115, no. 4.
438. Minerva, Cambs.
PM: accession number unknown.
Gibson 2007, 324, Fig. 37, no. 1.
439. Morning Thorpe, grave 353, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 353R.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 318, Fig. 415r; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.12.
440. Morning Thorpe, grave 353, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 353S.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 318, Fig. 415s.
441. Newton-on-Trent, Lincs.
Private collection.
Everson 1978, 86, Fig. 4, no. 2.
442. Potterspury I, Northants.
PAS: BUC-6DECE1.
443. Sleaford I, grave 155, Lincs.
BM: 1883.0401.321.
Hines 1993, 10, Fig. 14a; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 93, no. 4.
444. Sleaford III, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-7249F2.
445. Spong Hill, grave 46, Norfolk.
NCM: G46(3).
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 148, Fig. 101, no. 3; Hines 1993, 58, Fig. 110.
446. Springfield Lyons, grave 4882, Essex.
Unknown collection.
Tyler and Major 2005, 78, Fig. 33, no. 2.
447. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1888.30.71.
Åberg 1926, 37, Fig. 58; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 91, no. 4.
448. Stoneham Aspal I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 245, Fig. 127, no. 5.
449. Thelnetham, Suffolk.
PAS: SF10040.
- *450. Trumpington, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1883.518.
Plate 13.2.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 93, no. 3.
451. Unprovenanced, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-B35C01.
452. Wakerley, grave 1, Northants.
NM: unknown accession number.
Adams and Jackson 1989, 80, Fig. 8 no. 3.
453. Wakerley, grave 25, Northants.
NM: unknown accession number.
Hines 1984, 403, Fig. 5.6; Adams and Jackson 1989, 97, Fig. 25 no. 1.
454. West Langton I, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-E162C4.
455. West Stow, Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.433.
Åberg 1926, 37, Fig. 59; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 119, no. 1; West 1985, Fig. 256, no. 4; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 99, no. 12.9.
- *456. West Stow, Suffolk.
WSM: K15.
Figure 43.2
West 1985, Fig. 256, no. 5.

457. West Wrattling IV 1, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-DB48B7.

458. Westgarth Gardens, grave 55, Suffolk.
WSM: 1976.455.
West 1988, 60, Fig. 78b.

459. Wigston Magna, Leics.
Private collection.
Liddle and Middleton 1994, 70, Fig. 4 no. 2.

Type 2.2.3 ("Osbourneby")

460. Appleby II, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-6B3B93.

461. Appleby II, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-53A7B5.

462. Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambs.
BM: 1876,0212.69.
Smith 1923, 26, Fig. 16; Åberg 1926, 39, Fig. 65;
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.13.

463. Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambs.
BM: 1876,0212.68.
Not published.

*464. Barrington A (Edix Hill), grave 93,
Cambs.
CAS: BAEH91(526) SF12.
Plate 10.3.
Malim and Hines 1998, 128, Fig. 3.60, no. 12.

*465. Barrington, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.301.
Figure 14.1.
Plate 10.4.
Åberg 1926, 39, Fig. 63; Reichstein 1975, Pl.
89, no. 8; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 99, no.
12.10.

466. Baston I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1970.137.3.
Trollope 1863, Fig. 4; Mayes and Dean 1976,
48, Fig. 12, no. 7.

467. Binbrook II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-8AAF22.

468. Binbrook III, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-F779A1.

469. Bonby I, Lincs.
PAS: WMID-5DEDE4.

470. Brandon I (Staunich Meadow), Suffolk.
SAS: accession number unknown.
Not published.

471. Coddensham VIII, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 134, Fig. 18, no. 4.

472. Corbridge, Northumb.
Stolen.
Knowles and Forster 1909, Fig. 25, left;
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLI, no. 4; Reichstein
1975, Pl. 95, no. 1.

473. Eastry III, Kent.
PAS: KENT4165.

474. Flixton II, grave 4, Suffolk.
SAS: FLN 053:0141.
Boulter and Walton Rogers 2012, 205, Fig. 15.7,
no. 2.

475. Flixton II, grave 4, Suffolk.
SAS: FLN 053:1157.
Boulter and Walton Rogers 2012, 205, Fig. 15.7,
no. IING1.

476. Fonaby, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 58, Fig. 23, no. 15.

477. Fordham III, Cambs.
PAS: SF-816D02.

478. Freckenham VII, Suffolk.
PAS: KENT-131C30.

479. Girton, grave 2, Cambs.
CUMAA: D1924.1 B.
Hollingworth and O'Reilly 1925, Pl. IV, no. 3a;
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 116, no. 5; Mortimer 1990,
Fig. 2.16.

480. Glaston, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.84.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 93, no. 2.
481. Great Easton I, Leics.
PAS: NARC425.
482. Hemingston II, Suffolk.
Private collection.
Martin, Pendleton and Plouviez 1998, 214, Fig. 52b.
- *483. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.482a.
Plate 11.1.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 98, no. 12.7; West 1998, 168, Fig. 51, no. 6.
484. Kingston I, Kent.
PAS: KENT4166.
485. Lincoln I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-ED1FE6.
486. Little Wilbraham I, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1471A.
Smith 1908, 69, Fig. 4; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 115, no. 13.
487. Little Wilbraham I, grave 47, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1387.
Not published.
488. Melton Ross I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM8.
489. Mildenhall I (Warren Hills), Suffolk.
BiM: A208-58.
West 1998, 233, Fig. 115, no. 3.
490. Morning Thorpe, cremation 318, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 318B.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 302, Fig. 399.
491. Morning Thorpe, grave 97, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 97A.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 233, Fig. 330a; Hines 1993, 48, Fig. 91a.
492. Morton on the Hill II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-86A267.
493. North Lopham III, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-EEA522.
494. North Thoresby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-8D6896.
495. Osbournby II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4229.
496. Palgrave V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-227187.
497. Revesby II, Lincs.
PAS: NCL-525AD1.
498. Saxham Little II, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 243, Fig. 125, no. 5.
499. Sleaford I, grave 182, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.385.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 119, no. 4.
500. Sleaford I, grave 182, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.386.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 119, no. 6; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.14.
501. Sleaford I, grave 205, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.433.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 116, no. 1.
502. Sleaford I, grave 205, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.434.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 116, no. 3.
503. Spong Hill, cremation 1730, Norfolk.
NCM: 1730.
Hills and Penn 1981, 224, Fig. 138.
504. Spong Hill, grave 22, Norfolk.
NCM: G22,4.
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 125, Fig. 78, no. 4.
505. Spong Hill, grave 22, Norfolk.
NCM: G22,6.

Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 125, Fig. 78, no. 6.

506. Wakerley, grave 25, Northants.
NM: accession number unknown.
Adams and Jackson 1989, 97, Fig. 25 no. 2.

507. Wickenby III, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-673A74.

508. Worlaby, Lincs.
Private collection.
Leahy 1993, 35, Fig. 4.3, no. 6.

Type 2.2.4 ("Rothwell")

509. Bradwell-on-Sea, Essex.
CM: accession number unknown.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 85, no. 1.

510. Coddenham I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF142.

511. Cooling I, Kent.
PAS: KENT-88BB00.

*512. Exning I (Windmill Hill), Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1904.449.
Plate 11.2.
West 1998, 157, Fig. 41, no. 5.

513. Faversham (Kings Field), Kent.
BM: 1077.70.
Åberg 1926, 30, Fig. 36; Hawkes 1956, 98, Fig. 19b.

514. Freckenham VII, Suffolk.
PAS: KENT-134161.

515. Hornsea, Yorks.
YM: YORYM:2011.198.
Head 1997, 58 Pl. 10.

516. Hornsea, grave 10, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:1991.113.3.
Head 1997, 22 Pl. 6, 50 Fig. 30 no. 1.

517. Kempston, Beds.
BM: 1891,0624.213.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLII.

518. Little Wilbraham I, grave 128, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1435.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 119, no. 3.

*519. Rothwell, Northants.
AM: 1927.634a.
Figure 14.2.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 87, no. 1; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 98, no. 12.5.

520. Rothwell, Northants.
AM: 1927.634b.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 87, no. 2.

521. Tuddenham St Martin V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-5D73B6.

522. Woodnesborough IV, Kent.
PAS: KENT3465.

Sub-group 2.2

523. Abingdon, grave 122, Oxon.
AbM: Unknown accession number.
Leeds and Bradford 1942, Pl. VIIIb; Dickinson 1976, Fig. 10c.

524. Bourne I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-D0EBE5.

525. Congham VII, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-6F4F64.

526. Nettleham II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-903BD1.

527. Sedgeford I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-E91BF1.

528. Shelley, Yorks.
BM: 1995,0906.1.
Not published.

529. Snetterton II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-3AA1D1.

530. Stuston II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-79AC02.

531. Tathwell I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-85B475.

Group 2

532. Andrew's Hill, Co. Durham.
Private collection.
Not published.

533. Field Dalling I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-3E4E28.

534. Freckenham V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-0F3C53.

535. Malton I, Yorks.
PAS: DUR-8564F2.

536. Glen Parva, Leics.
JWM: A47.1880.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLI, no. 5; Åberg
1926, 35, Fig. 51; Steuer 1982, 192, Fig. 6.

537. Spong Hill, cremation 1160, Norfolk.
NCM: 1160/1.
Hills 1977, 194, Fig. 107.

538. Wickham Skeith I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-F7B934.

Type 3.0.1 ("Welbeck Hill")

*539. Barrington, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.296.
Figure 18.1.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 100, no. 12.13.

540. Empingham II, grave 91, Rutland.
Location unknown.
Timby 1996, 219, Fig. 141 no. 1.

541. Eye V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-4BB268.

542. Hunningham, Warks.
Private collection.
Warwickshire HER MWA9802.

543. Kirby Cane, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 311, Fig. 4, no. 4.

544. Welbeck Hill, grave 64, Lincs.
With excavator.
Hines 1993, 66, Fig. 125a.

545. Whissonsett I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-DA2442.

Type 3.0.2 ("Bottesford")

*546. Bottesford, Lincs.
NLMS: LCNCC: 1915.332.
Plate 11.3.

547. Collingham I, Notts.
PAS: LVPL-4EEDA6.

548. Collingham II, Notts.
PAS: LVPL-C99416.

549. Girton, grave 39, Cambs.
CUMAA: A 1906.288.
Hollingworth and O'Reilly 1925, Pl. I (left);
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 97, no. 3; Hines 1993, 48,
Fig. 91d.

*550. Girton, grave 39, Cambs.
CUMAA: A 1906.289.
Figure 18.2.
Hollingworth and O'Reilly 1925, Pl. I (right);
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 97, no. 2.

551. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
BM: 1910.1222.3.
Åberg 1926, 46, Fig. 75; West 1998, 232, Fig.
114, no. 2.

552. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: UNID:137182.
West 1998, 224, Fig. 106, no. 1.

553. Little Wilbraham I, grave 40, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1377A.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 112, no. 2.

554. Morning Thorpe, grave 396, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 396L.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 351, Fig. 448l; Hines 1993, 11, Fig. 14.c.

555. Ruskington I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1936.16
Not published.

556. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1888.30.68.
Not published.

557. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1888.30.93.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 109, no. 3.

558. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: accession number unknown.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 109, no. 5.

559. Tuddenham St Mary, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1894.107A.
West 1998, 248, Fig. 130, no. 1.

560. Waddington, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1994.050.003
Hines 1993, 50, Fig. 95.

561. Wellingore I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-87E077.

Type 3.1.1 ("Saxby")

562. Akenham I, Suffolk.
IM: 1920–85.
West 1998, 117, Fig. 1, no. 1.

563. Akenham I, Suffolk.
IM: 1920–86.
West 1998, 117, Fig. 1, no. 2.

564. Aylesby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM6071.

565. Baginton, Warks.
HM: A-1013–11(2).
Not published.

566. Barham V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-3C3EF6.

567. Bracon Ash I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-ACEAB3.

568. Brooke, Norfolk.
BM: 1870,1105.13.
Åberg 1926, 41, Fig. 68; Kennet 1976, Fig. 3, no. 13.

569. Brooke, Norfolk.
BM: 1870,1105.12.
Åberg 1926, 41, Fig. 69 Kennet 1976, 97, Fig. 3, no. 12.

570. Burstn, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 307, Fig. 2, no. 3.

571. Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.436.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, 28, Fig. 3a; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.19; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 101, no. 12.15; West 1998, 128, Fig. 12, no. 8.

572. Carlton Scroop, Lincs.
GM: LCNGR.1995.2502.
Not published.

*573. Cleatham, grave 34, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Plate 35.1.
Leahy 2007, 188, Fig. 92, no. 15.

574. Driffild barrow C44, grave 8, Yorks.
HERM: No accession
Mortimer 1905, Pl. CXI, Fig. 874.

575. Empingham II, grave 95, Rutland.
Unknown location.
Timby 1996, 223, Fig. 145 no. 1.

576. Empingham II, grave 105, Rutland.
Unknown location.
Timby 1996, 230, Fig. 152 no. 1.

577. Eriswell II (Foxhole Heath), Suffolk.
EEM: unknown accession.
West 1998, 140, Fig. 24, no. 9.

578. Exning I (Windmill Hill), Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1904.446.
West 1998, 157, Fig. 41, no. 4.

579. Fonaby, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 56, Fig. 22, no. 13.

580. Glaston, grave 2, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.73.
Leeds and Barber 1950, Pl. 26, no. 2.

581. Granby, Notts.
PAS: LEIC-240952.

582. Grantham (Cold Slate Mill), Lincs.
GM: LCNGR 1995.4500.
Not published.

583. Grimston III, Norfolk.
KML: KILLM:1993.351.6.
Not published.

584. Haslingfield, Cambs.
BM: 1874,0326.2.
Schetelig 1906, 102, Fig. 123.

585. Haslingfield, Cambs.
BM: 1874,0326.3.
Not published.

586. Heacham IV, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-620E14.

587. Healing, Lincs.
PAS: NLM5758.

588. Hemswell I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-DCE2B2.

589. Holywell Row, grave 22, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7116A.
Not published.

590. Holywell Row, grave 79, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7145.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 105, no. 2; Mortimer 1990,
Fig. 2.18; Hines 1993, 10, Fig. 14b.

591. Hornsea, Yorks.
YM: YORYM:2011.197.
Head 1997, 58 Pl. 9.

592. Howletts, Kent.
BM: 1991,0402.2.
Not published.

593. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 171, Fig. 54, no. 8.

594. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), grave 25,
Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.477.
Hines 1993, 48, Fig. 91b; MacGregor and
Bolick 1993, 100, no. 12.16; West 1998, 168, Fig.
51, no. 1.

595. Ixworth I, Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.451.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 101, no. 12.14;
West 1998, 220, Fig. 102, no. 7.

596. Ixworth II (Byways), Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 218, Fig. 100, no. 3.

597. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1897.210.
West 1998, 223, Fig. 105, no. 11.

598. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1899.90.
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.17; West 1998, 225, Fig.
107, no. 1.

599. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z21358.
West 1998, 225, Fig. 107, no. 3.

600. Little Wilbraham I, grave 32, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1350.
Not published.

601. Little Wilbraham I, grave 131, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1437.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 106, no. 3.

602. Mildenhall I (Warren Hills), Suffolk.
BiM: A206–58A.
West 1998, 233, Fig. 115, no. 5.
603. Morning Thorpe, grave 30, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 30N.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 209, Fig. 306n.
604. Morning Thorpe, grave 370, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 370G.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 332, Fig. 429g; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.20.
605. Morning Thorpe, grave 371, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 371C.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 334, Fig. 431c.
- *606. North Luffenham, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.102.
Plate 12.
607. Oakington, grave 1, Cambs.
CAS: OAKQW94 SF1.
Taylor, Duhig and Hines 1997, 72, no. 1.
608. Oakington, grave 10, Cambs.
CAS: OAKQW94 SF2.
Taylor, Duhig and Hines 1997, 77, no. 1.
609. Ruskington I, unnumbered grave, Lincs.
LC: 13.81.
Myres 1946, Pl. x, d1.
- *610. Saxby, Leics.
LM: L.A.S.1947.5–0.
Figure 19.1.
611. Saxby I, Leics.
LM: L.A.S.1947.7.
Not published.
612. Scole V, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-C67CE0.
613. Sewerby, grave 8, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS:1993.1418.
Hirst 1985, 121, Fig. 34 no. 2.
614. Sewerby, grave 35, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS:1993/1485.
Hirst 1985, 131, Fig. 44 no. 6.
615. Sleaford I, grave 13, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.36.
Not published.
616. Sleaford II, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1932–399.
Not published.
617. Sleaford V, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-49F558.
618. Snitterby, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4200.
619. Spong Hill, cremation 3055, Norfolk.
NCM: 3055/1.
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1994, 205, Fig. 102.
620. Sporle with Palgrave I, Norfolk.
NCM: 1950 179.9.1.
Ashley and Penn 2012, 297, Fig. 6, no. 7.
621. Swarkestone Lowes, Derbs.
DeM: 1956–290/22.
Not published.
622. Tallington I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC: 1974.45.4.
Albone and Leahy 2000, 160, Fig. 14, no. 1.
623. Tuxford I, Notts.
PAS: DENO-F04256.
- *624. Unprovenanced.
KM: TI 42.
Plate 35.3.
Martin 2012, 59, Fig. 4a.
625. Wakerley, grave 28, Northants.
NM: unknown accession.
Adams and Jackson 1989, 100, Fig. 28 no. 3.
626. West Stow, Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.421.

West 1985, Fig. 258, no. 1; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 102, no. 12.17.

627. West Stow, Suffolk.
WSM: K15.
West 1985, Fig. 257, no. 2.

628. Westcotes, Leics.
JWM: A1.1894.
Åberg 1926, 40, Fig. 67.

*629. Westgarth Gardens, grave 61, Suffolk.
WSM: 1976.455.
Plate 40.1.
West 1988, 62, Fig. 80b.

630. Winston II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-A20F14.

631. Yaxley I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-EC7654.

632. Yaxley I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-ED3E46.

633. Yaxley II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-285877.

Type 3.1.2 ("Ixworth")

*634. Ixworth I, Suffolk.
BM: 1927,1212.21.
Figure 19.2.
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.21; West 1998, 218, Fig. 100, no. 7.

635. Mildenhall I (Warren Hills), Suffolk.
BM: 1971,0901.1.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLI, no. 7; West 1998, 234, Fig. 116, no. 10.

636. Waithe I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-58E945.

Type 3.2.1 ("Londesborough")

637. Andrew's Hill, grave 7, Co. Durham.
BoM: unknown accession.
Hamerow and Pickin 1995, 53, Fig. 9 no. 1.

638. Asgarby, Lincs.
BM: 1811,1214.1
White 1988, 88, Fig. 5.2.

639. Asgarby, Lincs.
BM: 1811,1214.2.
White 1988, 88, Fig. 5.1.

640. Barningham II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-419767.

641. Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambs.
CUMAA: Z21326.
Roach Smith 1868, Pl. xxxii, no. 1; Åberg 1926, 44, Fig. 72.

*642. Barton Seagrave, Northants.
BM: 1891,0319.16.
Plate 14.1.
Åberg 1926, 47, Fig. 77.

643. Beeby, Leics.
JWM: 150–1952.
Not published.

644. Benwell, Tyne and Wear.
GNM: 1935.13.
Brewis 1936, Pl. IV, Pl. V left; Cramp and Miket 1982, Fig. 6 no. 6, Pl. I no. 6.

645. Bishop Burton I, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-8D0E57.

646. Blaxhall I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF3889.

647. Brandon Grange, Warks.
Private collection.
Warwickshire HER MWA10065.

648. Broughton Lodge, grave 112, Notts.
UNMA: B2.68.1D5.
Kinsley 1993, 158, Fig. 87, no. 3.

649. Brunel Way, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Andrews 2000, 430, Fig. 13a.

650. Bulmer, Yorks.
BM: WG.1977.
Not published.
651. Bulmer, Yorks.
BM: WG.1978.
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.34.
652. Burneston I, Yorks.
PAS: NCL-A6B8D8.
653. Castledyke South, grave 29, Lincs.
BHM: accession unknown.
Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 148, Fig. 62, no. 1.
654. Castledyke South, grave 137, Lincs.
NLMS: BABDM:495.252.
Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 183, Fig. 97, no. 3.
- *655. Cleatham, grave 30, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Plate 13.2.
Leahy 2007, 184, Fig. 88, no. 15.
656. Cleatham, grave 30, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Leahy 2007, 184, Fig. 88, no. 14.
657. Cleatham, grave 30, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Leahy 2007, 184, Fig. 88, no. 13.
658. Coatham Mundeville, Co. Durham.
PAS: DUR-FF0ED2.
659. Coddtenham VI, Suffolk.
IM: 1962-143.
West 1998, 134, Fig. 18, no. 1.
660. Deopham III, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-BBD0D2; NMS-BBA7F1.
661. Driffield barrow C44, grave 4, Yorks.
Unknown location.
Akerman 1855, 17, Pl. VIII, nos.5,6; Mortimer 1905, Pl. CVII, Fig. 843.
662. Driffield barrow C44, grave 5, Yorks.
HERM: no accession.
Mortimer 1905, Pl. CX, Fig. 869.
663. Empingham II, grave 37, Rutland.
JWM: accession unknown.
Timby 1996, 185, Fig. 107 no. 1.
664. Empingham II, grave 69.
Unknown location.
Timby 1996, 201, Fig. 123 no. 1.
665. Eriswell I (Lakenheath Airport), grave 22, Suffolk.
WSM: K106.
Hutchinson 1966, 9, Fig. 6, (b), no. 1; West 1998, 149, Fig. 33, no. 7.
666. Eriswell II (Foxhole Heath), Suffolk.
EEM: unknown accession.
West 1998, 141, Fig. 25, no. 1.
667. Eriswell II (Foxhole Heath), Suffolk.
EEM: unknown accession.
West 1998, 141, Fig. 25, no. 2.
668. Fleam Dyke, Cambs.
CUMAA: D 1964.3.
Not published.
669. Flixborough, Lincs.
NLMS: unknown accession.
Not published.
670. Folkingham III, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-1D8F47.
671. Fonaby, grave 23, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 25, Fig. 7, no. 2 and 50, Pl. iii.
672. Fonaby, grave 43, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 41, Fig. 15, no. 2.
673. Goodmanham, Yorks.
BM: WG.1976.
Not published.
674. Great Cressingham, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-60A394.

675. Greenbank, Co. Durham.
AM: AN 1909.367.
Miket and Pocock 1976, Pl. VIIc; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 107, no. 12.30.
676. Greenbank, Co. Durham.
Unknown location.
Miket and Pocock 1976, Pl. VIIla
677. Holme Pierrepont, Notts.
BM: 1931,0313.5.
Not published.
678. Holywell Row, grave 99, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7158A.
Not published.
- *679. Holywell Row, grave 99, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7158A.
Plate 38.
680. Honington, Lincs.
HeM: HETFM:1667.1.
Whitwell 1963, 9, Fig. 2 (left).
681. Hornsea, grave 9, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:1991.113.1.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLIII, no. 1; Head 1997, 22 Pl. 5, 48 Fig. 29 no. 1.
682. Hunsingore, Yorks.
PAS: SWYOR-E64DF4.
683. Islip I, Northants.
DH: unknown accession.
Leeds 1941, Pl. L; Hines 1984, 403, Fig. 5.5.
684. Kenninghall I, Norfolk.
BM: 1883,0702.7.
Smith 1908, 70, Fig. 5; Smith 1923, 27, Fig. 17; Åberg 1926, 44, Fig. 71.
685. Kenninghall I, Norfolk.
AM: AN 1909.355.
Leeds 1913, 76, Fig. 13; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 104, no. 12.27.
686. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1899.89.
West 1998, 224, Fig. 106, no. 2.
687. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z16265.
West 1998, 225, Fig. 107, no. 4.
688. Little Wilbraham I, grave 116, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1321.
Not published.
- *689. Little Wilbraham I, grave 171, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1309.
Plate 13.1.
- *690. Londesborough, grave 9, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:2005.694.4.
Figure 20.1.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLIV; Åberg 1926, 46, Fig. 76; Brewis 1936, Pl. V (right); Swanton 1966, 274, Fig. 6 no. 1.
691. Londesborough, grave 9, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:2008.6010.
Brewis 1936, Pl. V (middle); Swanton 1966, 274, Fig. 6 no. 1.
692. Long Marston, Yorks.
PAS: LVPL1006.
693. Morning Thorpe, grave 96, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 96F.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 230, Fig. 327f; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.45; Hines 1993, 64, Fig. 122b.
694. Morning Thorpe, grave 129A, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 129A.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 242, Fig. 339a.
695. Morning Thorpe, grave 208, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 208Di.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 263, Fig. 360di; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.26; Hines 1993, 44, Fig. 85b.
696. Morning Thorpe, grave 253, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 253P.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 283, Fig. 380p; Hines 1993, 42, Fig. 81a.

697. Nassington, grave 28, Northants.
CUMAA: 1974.324.
Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXII (left) and Pl. XXVI, no. 28a.
698. North Luffenham, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.103.
Not published.
699. North Luffenham, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.117.
Plate 14.2.
700. Northwold, Norfolk.
BM: 1853,0815.48.
Schetelig 1906, 104, Fig. 125; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.45.
701. Norton, grave 102, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.102.4.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 187, Fig. 62 no. 4.
702. Oadby, Leics.
Private collection.
Hines 1984, 414, Pl. 5.1.
703. Quarrington, grave 15, Lincs.
LC: unknown accession.
Dickinson 2004, 40, Fig. 10, no. 1.
704. Roxby cum Risby II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM870.
705. Ruskington I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1982.83.
Myres 1946, Pl. x, d4.
706. Ruskington I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1936.15.
Not published.
- *707. Sancton, Yorks.
AM: AN 1886.1342a.
Figure 3.
Leeds 1913, 76, Fig. 13; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 104, no. 12.26.
- *708. Searby, Lincs.
LC: 87.70.
Plate 41.1.
709. Sewerby, grave 28, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS:1993.1427.
Hirst 1985, 129, Fig. 42 no. 1.
710. Sewerby, grave 57, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS: 1993.1486.
Hirst 1985, 145, Fig. 58 no. 5; Hines 1993, 42, Fig. 81c.
711. Sheffield's Hill, grave 1, Lincs.
NLMS: SH93 Grave 1 Area A, Box G7, x3209, 1.6.
Leahy and Williams 2001, 312.
712. Sheffield's Hill, grave 1, Lincs.
NLMS: SH93 Area A, Box G7, 1.3.
Leahy and Williams 2001, 312.
713. Sleaford I, grave 79, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.140.
Not published.
714. Sleaford I, grave 80, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.143.
Not published.
715. Sleaford I, grave 158, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.327.
Not published.
716. Sleaford I, grave 233, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.513.
Not published.
717. South Carlton, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-E17EE4.
718. Spong Hill, grave 39, Norfolk.
NCM: G39(1a).
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 140, Fig. 93, no. 1 and photo BXP 23.
719. Sporle with Palgrave I, Norfolk.
Unknown location.
Ashley and Penn 2012, 293, Pl. 8, no. 9.
720. Tallington I, grave 8, Lincs.
LC: unknown accession.
Albone and Leahy 2000, 154, Fig. 9, no. 2.

721. Tallington I, grave 8, Lincs.

LC: unknown accession

Albone and Leahy 2000, 154, Fig. 9, no. 3.

722. Tuddenham St Mary, Suffolk.

CUMAA: 1894.13.

Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.43; West 1998, 248, Fig.

130, no. 3.

723. Tuddenham St Mary, unnumbered grave, Suffolk.

CUMAA: 1927.680A.

West 1998, 248, Fig. 130, no. 2.

724. Unprovenanced, Norfolk.

KLM: KILLM:1995.1123.

Not published.

725. Unprovenanced, Suffolk.

IM: unknown accession.

West 1998, 254, Fig. 136, no. 3.

726. Unprovenanced, Suffolk.

IM: unknown accession.

West 1998, 254, Fig. 136, no. 4.

727. Wakerley, grave 32, Northants.

NM: unknown accession.

Adams and Jackson 1989, 104, Fig. 32 no. 1.

728. Wakerley, grave 47, Northants.

NM: unknown accession.

Adams and Jackson 1989, 114, Fig. 47 no. 3.

729. Welbeck Hill, grave 64, Lincs.

With excavator.

Hines 1993, 66, Fig. 125b.

730. West Heslerton, grave 62, Yorks.

With excavator: 1HE46GT.

Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 95.

731. Woodstone Barrow, Cambs.

PM: L505.

Not published.

Type 3.2.2 ("Brixworth")

*732. Brixworth, Northants.

NM: D.16/1955–6.

Figure 20.2.

733. Brooke, Norfolk.

BM: 1870.1105.14; 1870.1105.24.

Åberg 1926, 45, Fig. 74; Kennet 1976, 99, Fig. 3, no. 14; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.33.

734. Brunel Way, grave 17b, Norfolk.

Private collection.

Penn and Andrews 2000, 432, Fig. 15a.

735. Castledyke South, grave 74, Lincs.

NLMS: accession unknown.

Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 164, Fig. 78, no. 1.

736. Cleatham, grave 46, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.

Leahy 2007, 194, Fig. 98, no. 01.

737. Fonaby, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.

Cook 1981, 52, Fig. 20, no. 10.

*738. Glenthams, Lincs.

LC: LCNCC:1936.42.

Plate 15.

739. Hemswell, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-DE43D7.

740. Hemswell, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-DE1450.

741. Kilham III, Yorks.

YM: YORYM:1947.294.

Schetelig 1906, 105, Fig. 126.

742. Little Wilbraham I, grave 95.

CUMAA: 1948.1419.

Schetelig 1906, 106, Fig. 127.

743. Morning Thorpe, grave 209, Norfolk.

NCM: MRN 209B.

Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 265, Fig. 362bi.

744. Norton, grave 96, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.96.3.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 185, Fig. 61 no. 3.

745. Ruskington I, Lincs.
LC: 35.56.
Not published.

746. Ruskington I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC: 1936.17.
Not published.

747. South Carlton, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-E16F53.

748. Unprovenanced.
MaM: 20681.
Not published.

749. West Heslerton, grave 86, Yorks.
With excavator: 2BA921AI.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 137.

750. West Heslerton, grave 143, Yorks.
With excavator: 2BA924AG.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 245.

751. West Heslerton, grave 173, Yorks.
With excavator: 2BA1187AH.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 302.

752. Weston Colville III, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-18F936.

Type 3.2.3 ("Haslingfield")

753. Brooke, Norfolk.
BM: 1870,1105.15.
Åberg 1926, 45, Fig. 73; Kennet 1976, 99, Fig. 4, no. 15.

*754. Carlton Scroop, Lincs.
GM: LCNGR 1995.4499.
Figure 21.1.

755. Castledyke South, grave 163, Lincs.
NLMS: accession unknown.
Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 191, Fig. 105, no. 5.

756. Dean and Shelton, Beds.
PAS: NARC-7A8DC6.

757. East Kirkby I, Lincs.
PAS: NCL-688A81.

758. Girton, grave 33, Cambs.
CUMAA: D1924.14a.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 86, no. 2.

759. Haslingfield, Cambs.
CUMAA: Z43408.
Plate 39.1.
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.48; Martin 2012, 57, Fig. 3c.

*760. Holywell Row, grave 99, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7158B.
Plate 16.2.

761. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1897.46A.
West 1998, 224, Fig. 106, no. 4.

762. Minerva, grave 1263, Cambs.
PM: accession unknown.
Gibson 2007, 300, Fig. 13, no. 3.

763. Morning Thorpe, grave 80, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 80J.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 224, Fig. 321j; Hines 1984, 401, Fig. 4.2b.

764. Partney, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1950.40.
Not published.

765. Rothwell, Northants.
AM: AN 1927.635.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 102, no. 12.18.

766. Sewerby, grave 15, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS:1993.1423.
Hirst 1985, 124, Fig. 37 no. 6.

*767. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1888.30.66.
Plate 16.1.
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.47.

768. West Heslerton, grave 12, Yorks.
With excavator: 1A50CG.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 19.

Type 3.2.4 ("Holywell Row")

769. Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambs.
CUMAA: Z21324.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 99, no. 5; Mortimer 1990,
Fig. 2.44.

*770. Barrington, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.299.
Plate 17.2.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 106, no. 12.31.

771. Castledyke South, grave 155, Lincs.
NLMS: unknown accession.
Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 175, Fig. 89, no. 4.

772. Colchester II (Union House), Kent.
Unknown location.
Crummy 1981, 9, Fig. 11.

*773. Hornsea, grave 1, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:1991.113.2.
Figure 21.2.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLII, no. 3; Head
1997, 21 Pl. 3, 44 Fig. 24 no. 1.

774. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1897.137.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 99, no. 3; West 1998, 225,
Fig. 107, no. 2.

775. Little Wilbraham I, grave 79, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1406A.
Not published.

*776. Little Wilbraham I, grave 87, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1412A.
Plate 37.1.
Martin 2012, 57, Fig. 57d.

777. Londesborough, grave 9, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:2005.694.3.
Swanton 1966, 274, Fig. 6 no. 3.

*778. Londesborough, grave 10, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:2005.694.5.
Plate 17.1.
Swanton 1966, 274, Fig. 6 no. 2.

779. Morning Thorpe, grave 91, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 91D.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 228, Fig.
325d.

780. Mucking I, grave 92, Essex.
BM: 1970,0406.5.
Hirst and Clark 2009, 355, Fig. 187, no. 2.

781. Mucking I, grave 92, Essex.
BM: 1970,0406.6.
Hirst and Clark 2009, 355, Fig. 187, no. 3.

782. Rempstone, Notts.
PAS: LEIC-603495.

783. Soham III, Cambs.
CUMAA: Z16180A; Z16002.
Lethbridge 1933, 157, Fig. 2, no. 2; Reichstein
1975, Pl. 99, no. 4.

784. Spong Hill, grave 22, Norfolk.
NCM: G22,3.
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 126, Fig. 79, no.
3; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.44.

785. West Heslerton, grave 95, Yorks.
With excavator: 2BA226EE.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 152.

Type 3.2.5 ("Icklingham")

786. Barrow, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-671B68.

787. Exning (Windmill Hill), Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1904.447.
West 1998, 157, Fig. 41, no. 2.

788. Exning (Windmill Hill), Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1904.448.
West 1998, 157, Fig. 41, no. 3.

789. Finningham I, Suffolk.

PAS: SF10007.

790. Great Chesterford, Essex.

LiM: M7370.

Not published.

791. Haslingfield, Cambs.

AM: AN 1909.237.

MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 103, no. 12.20.

792. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk.

AM: AN 1909.480.

MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 105, no. 12.25;

West 1998, 168, Fig. 51, no. 5.

793. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk.

Private collection.

West 1998, 171, Fig. 54, no. 7.

794. Little Wilbraham I, grave 40.

CUMAA: 1948.1377B.

Reichstein 1975, Pl. 112, no. 4.

795. Little Wilbraham I, grave 168.

CUMAA: 1948.1452.

Reichstein 1975, Pl. 103, no. 1

796. Morning Thorpe, grave 131, Norfolk.

NCM: MRN 131A.

Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 243, Fig. 340a.

*797. Newnham Croft, Cambs.

CUMAA: Z21335.

Plate 18.1.

Not published.

798. Newnham Croft, Cambs.

CUMAA: unknown accession.

Åberg 1926, 47, Fig. 79.

799. Ruskington III, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-D01994.

800. Spong Hill, grave 45, Norfolk.

NCM: G45(8a).

Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 147, Fig. 100, no. 8.

*801. St John's, Cambs.

CUMAA: 1888.30.42.

Figure 22.1.

802. Thimbleby I, Lincs.

MaM: 20680.

Not published.

Type 3.2.6 ("Louth")

803. Bloodmoor Hill, Suffolk.

CAU: unknown accession.

Lucy, Tipper and Dickens 2009, 174, Fig. 4.3, no. 16.

804. Cleatham, Cleatham grave 34, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.

Leahy 2007, 188, Fig. 92, no. 13.

805. Cleatham, Cleatham grave 34, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.

Leahy 2007, 188, Fig. 92, no. 14.

806. Fonaby, grave 43, Lincs.

NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.

Cook 1981, 41, Fig. 15, no. 3.

807. Louth I, Lincs.

LoM: LOUTN/A101.

Figure 22.2.

808. Ruskington I, Lincs.

LC: 17.36.

Hines 1984, 391, Fig. 2.70b; Hines 1993, 62, Fig. 117c.

809. Sheffield's Hill, grave 1, Lincs.

NLMS: SH93 Area A, Box G7.

Leahy and Williams 2001, 312.

810. Sleaford I, grave 49, Lincs.

BM: 1883,0401.85.

Not published.

*811. Staxton, Yorks.

HERM: KINCM:1980.9.

Plate 18.2.

812. West Heslerton, grave 29, Yorks.
With excavator: 1B105BB.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 46.

Type 3.2.7 ("Snape")

813. Bergh Apton, grave 6, Norfolk.
NCM: BEA 6C.
Green and Rogerson 1978, 52, Fig. 67c.

814. Bergh Apton, grave 6, Norfolk.
NCM: BEA 6D.
Green and Rogerson 1978, 52, Fig. 67d.

815. Empingham II, grave 50, Rutland.
Unknown location.
Timby 1996, 194, Fig. 116 no. 1.

*816. Exning I (Windmill Hill), Suffolk.
WSM: 1977.897 (05).
Plate 19.1.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLIII, no. 2; West
1998, 157, Fig. 41, no. 1.

817. Reepham, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-74DE85.

818. Roydon II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-8FC881.

*819. Snape, grave 10, Suffolk.
SAS: SNP007 08/08.
Figure 23.1.
Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 128, Fig. 86b.

820. Sporle with Palgrave I, Norfolk.
Unknown location.
Ashley and Penn 2012, 293, Pl. 8, no. 8.

Type 3.2.8 ("Edix Hill")

*821. Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambs.
CUMAA: Z21317.
Plate 19.2.

822. Barrington B (Hooper's Field), Cambs.
CUMAA: 1934.832.
Foster 1880, Pl. XII, no. 2.

*823. Little Wilbraham I, grave 81, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1409.
Figure 23.2.
Schetelig 1906, 109, Fig. 130; Baldwin Brown
1915, Pl. XLV, no. 2; Åberg 1926, 48, Fig. 81;
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 111, no. 4.

Type 3.2.9 ("Flixborough")

824. Cleatham, Lincs.
NLMS: UN8.
Not published.

*825. Driffield barrow C38, grave 7, Yorks.
HERM: not accessioned.
Plate 20.
Mortimer 1905, Pl. XCVII, Fig. 768.

*826. Flixborough, Lincs.
NLMS: unknown accession.
Figure 24.1.

827. Ford III, Northumb.
PAS: NCL-1C82E5.

828. Tallington II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-D058F7.

Type 3.2.10 ("Norton")

*829. Folkingham I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-66FCD8.
Plate 21.2.

*830. Norton, grave 63, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.63.5.
Figure 24.2.
Plate 21.1.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 166, Fig. 53 no. 5.

Sub-group 3.2

831. Aislaby II, Yorks.
PAS: DUR-A925A0.

832. Andrew's Hill, Co. Durham.
Private collection.
Not published.

833. Andrew's Hill, Co. Durham.
Private collection.
Not published.
834. Aswarby and Swarby II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM5662.
835. Aswarby and Swarby III, Lincs.
PAS: NLM5289.
836. Barrow upon Trent, Derbs.
PAS: DENO-A98387.
837. Barrow upon Trent, Derbs.
PAS: DENO-A989D3.
838. Borrough Green, Cambs.
PAS: SF-14F4E0.
839. Boynton, Humberside, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM1813.
840. Brocklesby, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1989.363.014.
Not published.
841. Brooke, Norfolk.
BM: 1870,1105.5.
Åberg 1926, 48, Fig. 80; Kennet 1976, 96, Fig. 2, no. 5.
842. Broughton Lodge, grave 61, Notts.
BYM: NCM 1966–38/589.
Kinsley 1993, 144, Fig. 73, no. 15.
843. Burneston II, Yorks.
PAS: NCL-C83CC2.
844. Burnham Market and Burnham Overy, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-696845.
845. Burton and Dalby, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-792347.
846. Campsey Ash, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-4A8754.
847. Cantly, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-227D43.
- *848. Castledyke South, grave 43, Lincs.
NLMS: unknown accession.
Plate 39.2.
Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 154, Fig. 68, no. 1.
849. Claydon, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 133, no. 7.
850. Cleatham, Lincs.
NLMS: US113.
Leahy 2007, 140, Fig. 71, no. 113.
851. Corringham II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-D7C048.
852. East Rudham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-F5E792.
853. Elm I, Cambs.
PAS: NMS-A7FA66.
854. Elm III, Cambs.
PAS: NMS-2EF601.
855. Emneth II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-350655.
856. Eriswell I (Lakenheath Airfield), grave 33, Suffolk.
WSM: K10.
Hutchinson 1966, Pl. II, (a) and Pl. IV; West 1998, 154, Fig. 38, no. 1.
857. Fangfoss I, Yorks.
PAS: NCL-626D24.
858. Finningham II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-A2AD23.
859. Fledborough, Notts.
PAS: NLM-B78107.
860. Fonaby, grave 31.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 31, Fig. 10, no. 2.
861. Freckenham VII, Suffolk.
PAS: KENT-D4C5E4.

862. Ganton Wold, Yorks.

BM: 1876,0212.6.

Not published.

863. Gayton le Marsh, Lincs.

PAS: NLM4742.

864. Hatton II, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-FD3305.

865. Heckington I, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-F2A222.

866. Hoby with Rotherby VI, Leics.

PAS: LEIC-5C1F57.

867. Hollingbourne, Kent.

PAS: KENT651.

868. Holywell Row, grave 37, Suffolk.

CUMAA: Z7121A.

Not published.

869. Ixworth I, Suffolk.

BiM: A205.58.

West 1998, 219, Fig. 101, no. 1.

870. Kenninghall I, Norfolk.

AM: AN 1909.356.

MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 103, no. 12.21

871. Kilham I, Yorks.

PAS: YORYM-E694D6.

872. Kilham IV, Yorks.

PAS: FAKL-507902.

873. Laceby I, Lincs.

LC: LCNCC:1954.92.

Thompson 1956, Pl. xi, c2.

874. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.

CUMAA: 99.88.

West 1998, 226, Fig. 108, no. 2.

875. Minerva, cremation 1282, Cambs.

PM: unknown accession.

Gibson 2007, 321, Fig. 34, no. 1.

876. Morning Thorpe, grave 112, Norfolk.

NCM: accession unknown.

Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 238, Fig. 335b.

877. Morning Thorpe, grave 160, Norfolk.

NCM: MRN 160A.

Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 254, Fig. 351a.

878. Morning Thorpe, grave 397, Norfolk.

NCM: MRN 397A.

Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 352, Fig. 449a; Hines 1993, 42, Fig. 81d.

879. Nassington, grave 32, Northants.

PM: accession unknown.

Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXVII, no. 32;

Leeds and Pocock 1971, 28, Fig. 3b.

880. Newton and Haceby II, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-6244A7.

881. Norton, Teesside.

StM: STCMG:2006.1500.121.13.

Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 197, Fig. 67 no. 13.

882. Owston Ferry I, Lincs.

PAS: NLM-007F83.

883. Rampton I, Notts.

PAS: NLM-5F6351.

884. Rampton I, Notts.

PAS: NLM-F384A3.

885. Rampton I, Notts.

PAS: NLM-F3C135.

886. Rampton IV, Notts.

PAS: NLM-8B21A4.

887. Sedgeford I, Norfolk.

PAS: NMS-D575F2.

888. Sheepy II, Leics.

PAS: LEIC-04A086.

889. Skirpenbeck, Yorks.

PAS: YORYM-FD5972.

890. South Carlton, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-E196D5.

891. South Kesteven V, Lincs.
PAS: NLM952

892. Spong Hill, grave 58, Norfolk.
NCM: G58(3a).
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 156, Fig. 109, no. 3.

893. Stamford Bridge, Yorks.
PAS: NCL-9FBF13.

894. Stanion, Northants.
PAS: NARC-B2A2B2.

895. Stradsett I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-A512D5.

896. Stradsett II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-30E6E3.

897. Unprovenanced.
BM: 1856,0701.5173a.
Smith 1923, 24, Fig. 15.

898. Warham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-E37AA4.

899. West Torrington, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-5D0834.

900. West Torrington, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-5D3823.

901. West Wrattling II, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-086A16.

*902. Westborough, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-C321A3.
Plate 42.5.

903. Wood Walton, Cambs.
PAS: HESH-42BC75.

904. Woolsthorpe-by-Belvoir, Lincs.
GM: LCNGR 1995.4908.
Not published.

905. Wramplingham, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-131867.

906. Yaxley I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-EC29A3.

907. Yaxley I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-2CBB46.

908. Yaxley II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-286757.

Type 3.3.1 ("Nassington")

909. Barrington A (Edix Hill), grave 13b, Cambs.
CAS: BAEH89(20b) SF33.
Malim 1992, 60, Fig. 14; Malim and Hines 1998, 103, Fig. 3.35, no. 33.

910. Baston II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-8FA983.

911. Baston II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-8FDAF4.

912. Brandon I (Staunth Meadow), Suffolk.
SAS: unknown accession.
West 1998, 126, Fig. 10, no. 17.

913. Brixworth, Northants.
NM: D.15/1955-6.
Not published.

914. Broughton Lodge, grave 10, Notts.
BYM: NCM 1966-38/586.
Kinsley 1993, 111, Fig. 40, no. 1.

*915. Dunbar Road, Leicester, Leics.
JWM: A88.1990.
Plate 22.

916. Eriswell I (Lakenheath Airfield), grave 9.
WSM: 1977.928 (05).
Hutchinson 1966, Pl. I, (a), no. 1; Leeds and Pocock 1971, 28, Fig. 3e; West 1998, 146, Fig. 31, no. 1.

917. Fonaby, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 52, Fig. 20, no. 9 and 51, Pl. iv.
918. Fonaby, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 56, Fig. 22, no. 14 and 57, Pl. v.
919. Frisby II, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-92E6E4.
920. Girton, Cambs.
CUMAA: Z31272.
Not published.
921. Girton, Cambs.
CUMAA: Z42.325.
Åberg 1926, 47, Fig. 78; Leeds and Pocock 1971, 28, Fig. 3c; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.42.
922. Grimston II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-014DC1.
923. Grimston II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-016837.
924. Heacham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-F2CEB1.
925. Holme Pierrepont, Notts.
BM: 1931,0313.6.
Not published.
926. Holme Pierrepont, Notts.
BM: 1931,0313.4.
Not published.
- *927. Holywell Row, grave 16, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7111.
Figure 25.1.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 110, no. 1.
928. Holywell Row, grave 58, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7136A.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. Ia.
929. Holywell Row, grave 79, Suffolk.
CUMAA: Z7145C.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 105, no. 3.
930. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1899.88.
West 1998, 113, Pl. V, no. 3.
931. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1897.44.
West 1998, 226, Fig. 108, no. 1.
932. Little Wilbraham I, grave 171, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1310.
Not published.
933. Morning Thorpe, grave 358, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 358B.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 320, Fig. 417bi.
934. Nassington, grave 28, Northants.
CUMAA: 1974.325.
Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXII (right) and Pl. XXVI, no. 28b.
935. Nassington, grave 31, Northants.
PM: L1038.
Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXVI, no. 31.
936. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1888.30.50.
Not published.
- *937. St John's, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.306.
Plate 23.
Leeds 1913, 76, Fig. 13; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 103, no. 12.19.
938. Wigston Magna, Leics.
LM: A21.1933.
Liddle and Middleton 1994, 71, Fig. 5.
939. Woolsthorpe-by-Belvoir, Lincs.
GM: LCNGR 1995.4898.
Not published.

Type 3.3.2 ("Toddington")

- *940. Barrington, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.292.
Plate 24.

- Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLV, no. 5; Leeds and Pocock 1971, 28, Fig. 3d; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 106, no. 12.28.
941. Corby I (Harpers Brook). Northants. KM: 1971.22. Figure 25.2.
942. Holywell Row, grave 21, Suffolk. CUMAA: Z7115A. Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.27.
943. Little Walsingham, Norfolk. NCM: unknown accession. Clarke 1939, Pl. 10.
944. Morning Thorpe, grave 133, Norfolk. NCM: MRN 133F. Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 245, Fig. 342f.
945. Nassington, Northants. CUMAA: 1974.323. Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXVII, 'M'; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.22.
946. Nassington, grave 28, Northants. CUMAA: 1974.323. Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXII (middle) and Pl. XXVII (top left).
947. Nassington, grave B, Northants. PM: unknown accession. Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXVII, B.
948. Toddington, Beds. SDC: 2001.33. Leeds and Pocock 1971, 28, Fig. 3f.
949. Tuddenham St Martin I, Suffolk. CUMAA: 1894.12. West 1998, 247, Fig. 129, no. 10.
950. Aislaby I, Yorks. PAS: NCL-A2F916.
951. Barrow upon Trent, Derbs. PAS: DENO-A98686.
952. Collingham IV, Notts. Private collection. Laing 2005, 87, Fig. 4, no. 12.
953. Emneth I, Norfolk. PAS: NMS-846B30.
954. Eye V, Suffolk. PAS: SF-4B6E83.
955. Holme Pierrepont, Notts. BM: 1931,0313.7. Not published.
956. Kenilworth, Warks. Private collection. Warwickshire HER MWA7379.
957. Lackford, cremation 50,78, Suffolk. CUMAA: 1950.78 B. Lethbridge 1951, 38, Fig. 16.
958. Leasingham, Lincs. PAS: FAKL-D56497.
959. Marham I, Norfolk. PAS: NMS-F2C867.
960. Oxborough I, Norfolk. Private collection. Penn 1998, 14, Fig. 11, no. 7.
961. Rougham I, Norfolk. PAS: NMS-8883A8.
962. St John's, Cambs. CUMAA: 1888.30.47. Not published.
963. Wakerley, grave 3, Northants. NM: accession unknown. Adams and Jackson 1989, 82, Fig. 10 no. 2.
964. Wymondham III, Norfolk. PAS: NMS-776781.

Sub-group 3.3

Type 3.4.1 ("Sleaford")

965. Falkenham II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-4B31F8.

966. Fonaby, grave 32, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 33, Fig. 11, no. 4.

967. Haslingfield, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1472.
Not published.

968. Little Wilbraham I, grave 73, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1401A.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 107, no. 6.

*969. Little Wilbraham I, grave 95, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1418A.
Figure 26.1.

*970. Little Wilbraham I, grave 95, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1418B.
Plate 37.2 (oblique, reverse only).

971. Lyminge II, Kent.
PAS: KENT4427.

972. Palgrave II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-F17AA7.

973. Sleaford I, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.525.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 100, no. 9.

*974. Sleaford I, grave 123, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.227.
Plate 25.1.

975. South Ferriby II, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:1996.174.026.
Not published.

Type 3.4.2 ("Great Chesterford")

976. Ganton Wold, Yorks.
BM: 1876,0212.5.
Not published.

977. Girton, grave 13, Cambs.
GCLR: 731.
Not published.

*978. Glaston, grave 9, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.83.
Plate 25.2.
Leeds and Barber 1950, Pl. 26, no. 9.

979. Great Chesterford, grave 20, Essex.
BM: 1904,0702.98.
Evison 1994, 143, Fig. 23, no. 1a.

980. Howell, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1994.042.002.
Not published.

981. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1897.136.
West 1998, 224, Fig. 106, no. 3.

*982. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1883,21354.
Figure 42.2.
West 1998, 224, Fig. 106, no. 5; Martin 2012, 60,
Fig. 5a.

*983. Little Wilbraham I, grave 173–174,
Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1463B.
Figure 26.2.
Schetelig 1906, 103, Fig. 124; Hines 1993, 48,
Fig. 91e.

984. Londesborough, grave 7, Yorks.
GNM: 1958.54.11.
Swanton 1966, 274, Fig. 6 no. 4; Cramp and
Miket 1982, Fig. 5 no. 4.2.

985. Revesby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4182.

986. Saxham Little I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 243, Fig. 125, no. 4.

987. Sleaford I, grave 223, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.478
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.23.

988. St John's, grave 6, Cambs.
PAS: 1888.30.22.

989. Weston Colville II, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-17DC04.

990. Weston Colville IV, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-192201

Type 3.4.3 ("Lakenheath")

*991. Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambs.
CUMAA: Z21328.
Plate 25.3.

992. Great Barton I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-A772B7.

993. Lakenheath I, Suffolk.
HC: 1571.
West 1998, 232, Fig. 114, no. 1.

994. Scalford, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-6D8A23.

995. Sewerby, grave 12, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS:1993.1455.
Hirst 1985, 123, Fig. 36 no. 2.

996. Sewerby, grave 12, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS:1993/1456.
Hirst 1985, 123, Fig. 36 no. 3.

997. Soham II, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1873.0718.2.
Schetelig 1906, 107, Fig. 128.

*998. West Stow, Suffolk.
WSM: K12.
Figure 27.1.
Tymms 1853, Pl. VIII, no. 2; West 1985, Fig. 257, no. 4.

999. West Stow, Suffolk.
WSM: K15.
West 1985, Fig. 257, no. 3.

Type 3.4.4 ("Woodstone Barrow")

1000. Haslingfield, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.239(i).
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 106, no. 12.29 (right).

1001. Haslingfield, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.239ii.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 106, no. 12.29 (right).

*1002. Woodstone Barrow, Cambs.
BM: 1873,0602.108.
Figure 27.2.
Schetelig 1906, 108, Fig. 129.

Type 3.4.5 ("Sporle")

*1003. Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.251.
Plate 41.2.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 104, no. 12.23;
Martin 2012, 59, Fig. 4b.

*1004. Barrington, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.297.
Figure 28.1.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 104, no. 12.24.

1005. Little Wilbraham I, grave 11, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1429.
Not published.

1006. Nassington, grave 14, Northants.
PM: unknown accession.
Leeds and Atkinson 1944, Pl. XXVI, no. 14.

1007. Sporle with Palgrave I, Norfolk.
NCM: 163.30.
Ashley and Penn 2012, 297, Fig. 6, no. 11.

Sub-group 3.4

1008. Appleby II, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-4ECB97.

1009. Barnetby-le-Wold, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-202521.

1010. Barrington, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.300.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 104, no. 12.22.

1011. Besthorpe, Notts.
PAS: DENO-C8A064

1012. Brooke, Norfolk.
BM: 1870,1105.1.
Kennet 1976, 95, Fig. 1, no. 1.

1013. Coddenham VIII, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 135, Fig. 19, no. 1.

1014. Coddenham X, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 135, Fig. 19, no. 13.

1015. Eye II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF10820.

1016. Flixton II, grave 27A, Suffolk.
SAS: FLN 053:1291.
Boulter and Walton Rogers 2012, 227, Fig. 15.24.

1017. Fordham II, Cambs.
PAS: SF10652.

1018. Freckenham VIII, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-B6A877.

1019. Gretton, Northants.
RCM: OAKRM:1975.35.
Not published.

1020. Kirby Cane, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 311, Fig. 4, no. 3.

1021. Morning Thorpe, grave 393, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 393M.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 349, Fig. 446m.

1022. Osbournby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4225.

1023. Playford I, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 241, Fig. 123, no. 1.

1024. South Kesteven IX, Lincs.
PAS: NLM998.

1025. St John's, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1888.30.48.
Not published.

1026. Tallington I, grave 5, Lincs.
LC: accession unknown.
Albone and Leahy 2000, 150, Fig. 7, no. 1.

1027. Thimbleby, Lincs.
MaM: 20679.
Not published.

1028. Wanlip, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-B9CC78.

1029. Warham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-BA4B25.

1030. West Stow, Suffolk.
WSM: K15.
West 1985, Fig. 258, no. 2.

1031. Woodstone Barrow, Cambs.
BM: 1873,0602.109.
Not published.

1032. Wymeswold I, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-3E7131.

Sub-group 3.5 ("Hoxne")

*1033. Hoxne I, Suffolk.
BM: 1910,1214.1.
Plate 26.
Lowe 1910; Åberg 1926, 49, Fig. 82; West 1998, 166, Fig. 49, no. 9.

1034. Ufford, Suffolk.
Location unknown.
West 1998, 249, Fig. 131, no. 9.

*1035. West Heslerton, grave 77, Yorks.
With excavator: 2F13AA.
Figure 28.2.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 311.

Group 3

1036. Appleby I, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-A8E163.

1037. Aylesby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-AE3DF1.

1038. Banham III, Norfolk.
PAS: SF-B7B646.

1039. Barham IV, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-E312D2.

1040. Barkston I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-C70454.

1041. Barrow upon Trent, Derbs.
PAS: DENO-A98506.

1042. Barrow upon Trent, Derbs.
PAS: DENO-FA61B3.

1043. Barrow upon Trent, Derbs.
PAS: DENO-FADF05.

1044. Bishop Burton II, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-077F77.

1045. Bonby II, Lincs.
PAS: WMID-190684.

1046. Brocklesby, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1989.363.012.
Not published.

1047. Cleatham, Lincs.
NLMS: US125.
Leahy 2007, 139, Fig. 70, no. 125.

1048. Cleatham, cremation 907, Lincs.
NLMS: MT89BBX.

1049. Coddensham X, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 135, Fig. 19, no. 15.

1050. Congham III, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-E7FFE3.

1051. Corringham I, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2004.070.002.
Not published.

1052. Corringham I, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2004.070.003.
Not published.

1053. Creting St Mary, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-A2B333.

1054. Duffield Castle, Derbs.
DeM: L73-3D.
Not published.

1055. East Rudham III, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-03BC37.

1056. East Rudham IV, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-877FF4.

1057. Elm I, Cambs.
PAS: NMS-B89E53.

1058. Fangfoss II, Yorks.
PAS: NCL-9D3486.

1059. Fincham II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-9B9D85.

1060. Ford V, Northumb.
PAS: NCL-423477.

1061. Fordham II, Cambs.
PAS: SF10651.

1062. Friston III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-0135C8.

1063. Gedgrave, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-9DB975.

1064. Greatford, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-107245.

1065. Greetwell II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-159D75.

1066. Grimston II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-017513.

1067. Hackforth, Yorks.
PAS: DUR-12BE53.

1068. Healing, Lincs.
PAS: NLM5321.

1069. Hevingham, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-019386.

1070. Hibaldstow III, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1990.085.001.
Not published.

1071. Holme Hale, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-C870A1.

1072. Langford IV, Notts.
PAS: DENO-9E3A35.

1073. Lenton I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-A2ECA2.

1074. Market Weighton I, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-3D9633.

1075. Mattishall IV, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-1DC104.

1076. Mendham I, Suffolk.
PAS: NMS-6EF764.

1077. Mendham II, Suffolk.
PAS: NMS-A44DA3.

1078. Middle Rasen II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-28FEE6.

1079. Nacton, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-9E3EA7.

1080. Nettleton, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-0365D7.

1081. North Ferriby, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-C10671.

1082. Orston I, Notts.
PAS: NLM5915.

1083. Owston Ferry II, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-15C1D7.

1084. Palgrave III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-00FF81.

1085. Rampton II, Notts.
PAS: NLM-37D5B7.

1086. Ringstead, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-ACBC20.

1087. Roecliffe, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-82DFE6.

1088. Rudston IV, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-145CF5.

1089. Scole I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-537F37.

1090. Scopwick, Lincs.
PAS: LVPL-D78BE5.

1091. Sheepy II, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-04B7B4.

1092. Sleaford III, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-71BF11.

1093. South Ferriby II, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1995.047.090.
Not published.

1094. South Ferriby II, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1989.378.028.
Not published.

1095. Spong Hill, cremation 1138, Norfolk.
NCM: 1138/1.
Hills 1977, 196, Fig. 109.

1096. Thirsk, Yorks.
PAS: LANCUM-AFFF48.

1097. Water Newton, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-31FEC0.

1099. Wellingore II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-D16A97.

1098. West Wrattling III, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-CC5188.

1100. Westborough, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-C2F697.

1101. Wickenby VII, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-71FFD6.

Type 4.1.1 ("Morning Thorpe")

1102. Aldwinkle II, Northants.
PAS: BH-2E5F83.

1103. Attleborough I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-6F9833.

1104. Bloodmoor Hill, Suffolk.
CAU: unknown accession.
Lucy, Tipper and Dickens 2009, 174, Fig. 4.3,
no. 18.

1105. Brandon and Bretford, Warks.
PAS: DENO-8C29A5.

1106. Clawson, Hose and Harby, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-0A2ED0.

1107. Cretingham, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-542AB1.

1108. Debenham, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-CC48E7.

1109. Elm II, Cambs.
PAS: NMS-261FD5.

1110. Elm III, Cambs.
PAS: NMS-2EA5E5.

1111. Gooderstone, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-EC7720.

1112. Great Casterton, Rutland.
PAS: LEIC-941403.
Plate 42.2.

1113. Grimston III, Norfolk.
KLM: KILLM:1993.351.89.
Not published.

1114. Haslingfield, Cambs.
AM: AN 1909.236.
Leeds 1913, 76, Fig. 13; Leeds and Pocock
1971, Pl. If; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.50;
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 108, no. 12.33.

1115. Holdenby, Northants.
NM: unknown accession.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, 29, Fig. 4b.

1116. Icklingham II, Suffolk.
BCM: FT 551.
West 1998, 174, Fig. 56a, no. 1.

1117. Laceby I 3, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1954.93.
Thompson 1956, Pl. xi, c3.

1118. Little Wilbraham I, grave 105, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1426A.
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.46.

*1119. Little Wilbraham I, grave 105, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1426B.
Figure 31.1.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLIII, no. 6.

*1120. Loveden Hill, Lincs.
BM: 1963,1001.92.
Figure 42.3.
Martin 2012, 60, Fig. 5c.

1121. Morning Thorpe, grave 342, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN D.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 312, Fig.
409d.

1122. Morning Thorpe, grave 353, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 353Q.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 318, Fig. 415qi and 367, Pl. XXI; Hines 1993, 71, Fig. 137.
1123. Northorpe II, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:23.10.1984/2.
Not published.
1124. Scole VI, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-CDA2A2.
1125. South Kesteven VI, Lincs.
PAS: NLM947.
1126. Spong Hill, cremation 1288, Norfolk.
NCM: 1288.
Hills 1977, 197, Fig. 110.
1127. Torksey III, Lincs.
PAS: DENO-DD64A4.
- *1128. Walkington III, Yorks.
PAS: SWYOR-B40A88.
Plate 42.7–8.
1129. West Lindsey I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4515.
1130. Yaxley IV, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-1FB611.
1131. Yaxley V, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-1A1C04.
- Type 4.1.2 ("Kenninghall")***
1132. Appleby II, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-A59B17.
1133. Beeston with Bittering I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-D5F994.
1134. Bishops Cleeve, Glos.
PAS: GLO-ABE2D2.
1135. Brantingham II, Yorks.
PAS: YORYM-B93360.
1136. Coddtenham III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-D49056.
1137. Desford, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-F4BAB6.
1138. Elm III, Cambs.
PAS: NMS-2E8F03.
1139. Eye IV, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-323565.
1140. Felixstowe, Suffolk
IM: 1962.145.
West 1998, 162, Fig. 45, no. 2; Ashley and Penn 2012, 295, Fig. 5 (right).
1141. Fransham III, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-113DA2.
1142. Gayton II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-2CF5F2.
1143. Grimston, Yorks.
PAS: SWYOR-DC4D36.
1144. Heacham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-98E984.
1145. Hemingstone I, Suffolk.
PAS: SF7055.
- *1146. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909.488.
Figure 31.2.
Leeds 1936, Pl. XXIIb; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.51; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 109, no. 12.3; West 1998, 111, Pl. III, no. 3.
1147. Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk.
AM: AN 1909–470.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. II.b; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 109, no. 12.36; West 1998, 111, Pl. III, no. 2.
1148. Kenninghall I, Norfolk.
AM: AN 1909.360.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 110, no. 12.38.

1149. Lakenheath II (Sahara Field), Suffolk.
MH: 1979.286.
Briscoe 1979; West 1998, 223, Fig. 105, no. 2.
1150. Lenton Keisby and Osgodby I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-9A72F5
1151. Morton, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-3702B0.
1152. Nuneaton II, Works.
PAS: LEIC-C6B1C6.
1153. Snape, grave 16, Suffolk.
SAS: SNP007 1282.
Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 133, Fig. 91c.
1154. Spong Hill, grave 2, Norfolk.
NCM: G2,1.
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 117, Fig. 70, no. 1.
1155. Spong Hill, grave 2, Norfolk.
NCM: G2,8.
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 118, Fig. 71, no. 8 and photo BXN 32.
1156. Sporle with Palgrave I, Norfolk.
NCM: 163.30.
Akerman 1855, 79, Pl. XL, no. 1; Leeds and Pocock 1971, 29, Fig. 4a; Penn and Ashley 2003, 295, Fig. 5, no. 5.
1157. Sporle with Palgrave I, Norfolk.
NCM: 163.30.
Penn and Ashley 2003, 293, Pl. 8, no. 6.
1158. St Ives, Cambs.
NoM: X.2770.
Leeds 1955, Pl. XXIIIa; Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. II.a.
1159. Stanford on Soar, Notts.
PAS: LEIC-9FC346.
1160. Swaffham I, grave 6, Norfolk.
NCM: 314.976.
Hills and Wade-Martins 1976, 18, Fig. 8, no. 6c and Pl. IV; Mortimer 1990, Pl. 2.
1161. Unprovenanced.
CUMAA: unknown accession.
Not published.
1162. Upton Snodsbury, Worcs.
WoM: 1965:73.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLV, no. 4.
1163. Wakerley, grave 74, Northants.
NM: unknown accession.
Adams and Jackson 1989, Fig. 65 no. 1.
1164. West Lindsey III, Lincs.
PAS: NLM2823.
- *1165. West Stow, Suffolk.
WSM: K3 (2285).
Plate 27.
Tymme 1853, unnumbered plate; Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLV, no. 1; Åberg 1926, 54, Fig. 88; Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. II.e; West 1985, Fig. 259, no. 1.
1166. West Stow, Suffolk.
WSM: K3 (2286).
Tymms 1853, Pl. XLIA; Faussett 1865, xiii; West 1985, Fig. 259, no. 2.
1167. Weston Colville I, Cambs.
PAS: CAM-CB99E7.
1168. Wickenby V, Lincs.
PAS: DENO-84D5F3.
1169. Yaxley III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-1E0527.

Type 4.1.3 ("Soham")

1170. Collingham V, Notts.
PAS: LVPL-0FFDB6.
1171. Fonaby, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 53, Fig. 21, no. 11; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.52.
1172. Fonaby, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 53, Fig. 21, no. 12.

1173. Great Bealings, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-0AC768.

1174. Partney, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC: 1950.39.
Not published.

*1175. Soham I, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1934.885.
Figure 32.1.
Lethbridge 1934, Pl. XI; Leeds 1936, Pl. XXIII;
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. II.c.

Type 4.2.1 ("Market Overton")

1176. Barrington B (Hooper's Field), grave 82,
Cambs.
CUMAA: Z21294.1.
Foster 1880, Pl. I; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.56.

*1177. Churchover (Bransford Bridge), Warks.
AM: AN 1935.619.
Plate 28.2
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. Ie; MacGregor and
Bolick 1993, 106, no. 12.32.

1178. Colchester II (Union House), Essex.
BM: OA 270.
Crummy 1981, 9, Figs.11 and 12

1179. Cottingham, Northants.
PAS: NARC66.

1180. Haslingfield, Cambs.
BM: 1874,0326.1.
Leeds 1936, Pl. XXIIa.

1181. Kenninghall I, Norfolk.
Unknown location.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. Ig.

1182. Kirkby la Thorpe I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-6DC103.

*1183. Market Overton, Rutland.
RCM: OAKRM:2004.9.38.
Plate 28.1.

1184. Market Overton. Rutland.
RCM: OS 11.
Not published.

*1185. Newnham Croft, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1936.358a.
Figure 32.2.
Lethbridge and O'Reilly 1938, Pl. Va (right).

1186. Newnham Croft, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1936.358b.
Lethbridge and O'Reilly 1938, Pl. Va (left).

1187. Ruskington I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC: 1982.82.
Myres 1946, Pl. x, d5; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.57.

1188. Sleaford I, grave 169, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.363.
Schetelig 1906, 110, Fig. 131; Smith 1907, 72,
Fig. 7; Smith 1923, 28, Fig. 19; Åberg 1926,
51, Fig. 85; Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. Ib;
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.55 and Pl. 5.

Type 4.3.1 ("Darlington")

1189. Bergh Apton, grave 54, Norfolk.
NCM: unknown accession.
Green and Rogerson 1978, 77, Fig. 92e.

1190. Catterick II, Yorkshire.
YM: YORYM:1959.6.
Pocock 1970, 407, Pl. Ib.

1191. Fonaby, grave 38, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Cook 1981, 37, Fig. 13, no. 4 and 46, Pl. iib;
Leahy 1993, 35, Fig. 4.3, no. 7.

*1192. Greenbank, Darlington, Co. Durham.
AM: AN 1909.368.
Figure 33.1.
Leeds 1936, Pl. XXVd; Leeds 1949, Pl. 135;
Miket and Pocock 1976, Pl. VIIa; MacGregor
and Bolick 1993, 109, no. 12.35

1193. North Cave I, Yorks.
PAS: SWYOR-500E27.

1194. Norton, grave 22, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.22.5.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 134, Fig. 38 no. 5.

1195. Unprovenanced.
AC: ACAT:291.
Pocock 1970, 407, Pl. Ia.

1196. West Heslerton, grave 147, Yorks.
With excavator: 2BA904AI.
Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 255.

1197. Wigston Magna, Leics.
Private collection.
Leeds 1949, Pl. 136; Liddle and Middleton
1995, 68, Fig. 3.

Type 4.3.2 ("Benwell")

1198. Benwell, Tyne and Wear.
GNM: 1960.14.
Jobey, G. 1957, Pl. VI; Cramp and Miket 1982,
Fig. 6 no. 7, Pl. I no. 7.

1199. Castle Morpeth, Northumb.
PAS: NCL-330C32.

*1200. Driffield barrow C38, grave 37, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:2008.7064.
Plate 29.1.
Mortimer 1905, Pl. CIII, Fig. 829; Leeds 1949,
Pl. 133.

*1201. Hornsea, grave 3, Yorks.
HERM: KINCM:1991.113.4.
Figure 33.2.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLV, no. 3; Åberg
1926, 54, Fig. 89; Leeds 1936, Pl. 132; Head
1997, 21 Pl. 4, 46 Fig. 27 no. 1.

1202. Norton, grave 57, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.57.2.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 160, Fig. 50 no. 2.

1203. Norton, grave 61, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.61.2.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 164, Fig. 52 no. 2.

1204. Norton, grave 61, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.61.3.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 164, Fig. 52 no. 3.

1205. Norton, grave 77, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.77.3.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 175, Fig. 57 no. 3.

1206. Norton le Clay, Yorks.
PAS: NCL-90F5C2.

1207. Sewerby, grave 49, Yorks.
ERMC: ERYMS: 1993/1443.
Hirst 1985, 139, Fig. 52 no. 16.

1208. Staxton, Yorks.
HERM: unknown accession.
Leeds 1949, Pl. 131.

1209. Whitehill Point, Tyne and Wear.
GNM: 1892.22.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XLV, no. 6; Leeds
1949, Pl. 137; Cramp and Miket 1982, Fig. 6 no.
10, Pl. I no. 10.

Sub-group 4.3

1210. Barrow upon Trent, Derbs.
PAS: DENO-A99500.

1211. Cleatham, Lincs.
NLMS: US012.
Leahy 2007, 139, Fig. 70, no. 012.

1212. Ford VII, Northumb.
PAS: NCL-FBFB61.

1213. Greenbank, Darlington, Co. Durham.
AM: AN 1909.366.
Leeds 1949, Pl. 134; Miket and Pocock 1976,
Pl. VIIb; MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 108, no.
12.34.

1214. Kenninghall I, Norfolk.
BM: 1883,0702.6.
Schetelig 1906, 112, Fig. 133; Åberg 1926, 55,
Fig. 90; Leeds 1949, Pl. 130.

1215. Kilham IV, Yorks.
PAS: FAKL-505DF6.

1216. Stillington and Whitton III, Co. Durham.
PAS: NCL-189E30.

1217. Towton, Yorks.
PAS: SWYOR-87C972.

Type 4.4.1 ("Exning")

1218. Empingham II, grave 49A, Rutland.
Unknown location.
Timby 1996, 39, Fig. 16; 192, Fig. 114 no. 1.

1219. Empingham II, grave 129, Rutland.
JWM: unknown accession.
Timby 1996, 42, Fig. 22; 240, Fig. 162 no. 1.

1220. Exning I (Windmill Hill), Suffolk.
CUMAA: 1892.99.1.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. Ic; West 1998, 160,
Fig. 44, no. 1.

*1221. Laceby I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1954.91,
Figure 34.1.
Thompson 1956, Pl. xi, c1.

1222. Market Overton, Rutland.
RCM: OS 37 (stolen).
Leeds 1949, Pl. S.8.

1223. Morning Thorpe, grave 16, Norfolk.
NCM: MRN 16B.
Green, Rogerson and White 1987, 200, Fig.
297b; Hines 1993, 53, Fig. 100a.

1224. Norton, grave 84, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.84.5.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 177, Fig. 58 no. 5.

1225. Roxwell, Essex.
PAS: ESS-11C830.

1226. Ruskington I, Lincs.
LC: LCNCC:1956.12.
Not published.

1227. Sleaford, grave 86, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.160.
Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.53.

*1228. Sleaford, grave 116, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.207.
Plate 29.2.

1229. Sleaford, grave 143, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.270.
Thomas 1887, Pl. xxiv, Fig. 2; Smith 1908, 72,
Fig. 6; Smith 1923, 28, Fig. 18; Åberg 1926, 51,
Fig. 84.

1230. Spong Hill, grave 57, Norfolk.
NCM: G57(7).
Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 154, Fig. 107, no.
7.

1231. Welbeck Hill, grave 57, Lincs.
With excavator.
Whitwell and Wilson 1968, 29, Fig. II, 7.

1232. West Lindsey I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4531.

Sub-group 4.4

1233. Appleby III, Lincs.
PAS: SWYOR-E9F4D0.

1234. Bewdley, Worcs.
PAS: WAW-C83ED7.

1235. Laughton, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1994.036.065.
Not published.

1236. Osgodby, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-630858.

1237. Oxborough I, Norfolk.
Private collection.
Penn 1998, 14, Fig. 11, no. 9.

1238. Sandy, Beds.
PAS: BH-588FD1.

1239. Scawby, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:5.2.1982/3.
Not published.

1240. Sibsey, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2000.071.
Not published.

Type 4.5.1 ("Catterick")

1241. Andrew's Hill, grave 2, Co. Durham.
BoM: 1995.24.2.28/ARC.
Hamerow and Pickin 1995, 48, Fig. 5 no. 9.

1242. Catterick I (RAF), Yorks.
Unknown location.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, 29, Fig. 4c.

1243. Girtton, Cambs.
CUMAA: unknown accession.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. Id.

1244. Islip I, Northants.
DH: unknown accession.
Leeds 1941, Pl. LI.

*1245. Norton, grave 30, Teesside.
StM: STCMG:2006.1500.30.4.
Figs. 34.2 and 41.
Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 142, Fig. 42 no. 4;
Martin 2012, 57, Fig. 3a.

1246. Soham V, Cambs.
PAS: NMS-2E7382.

1247. Walcote near Folkingham II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-3394E7.

1248. Wolfhampcote, Warks.
PAS: WAW-0AB8D3.

Type 4.6.1 ("Linton Heath")

1249. Bampton, Oxon.
With excavator.
Not published.

*1250. Empingham II, grave 85A, Rutland.
Unknown location.

Figure 35.1.
Timby 1996, 41, Fig. 20; 212, Fig. 143 no. 1.

1251. Linton Heath, grave 40, Cambs.
CUMAA: 1948.1567.
Leeds 1955, Pl. XXIIIb; Leeds and Pocock 1971,
Pl. II.d.

1252. Rampton I, Notts.
PAS: NLM-2ED664.

1253. Sibton, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 244, Fig. 126, no. 3.

1254. Unprovenanced.
AM: AN 1992.105.
MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 110, no. 12.39.

1255. Wargrave, Berks.
PAS: BERK-F75D61.

Type 4.6.2 ("Newnham")

1256. Beckingham, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-403836.

*1257. Broughton Lodge, grave 8, Notts.
BYM: NCM 1966–38/587.
Plate 30.
Kinsley 1993, 110, Fig. 39, no. 14.

1258. Edlington, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-415104.

1259. Empingham II, grave 73, Rutland.
Unknown location.
Timby 1996, 38, Fig. 15; 204, Fig. 126.

*1260. Empingham II, grave 81, Rutland.
Unknown location.
Figure 35.2.
Timby 1996, 40, Fig. 18; 209, Fig. 131.

1261. Ingham, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 175, Fig. 57, no. 1.

1262. Newnham, Northants.
Unknown location.

Leeds 1936, Pl. XXIIc; Leeds and Pocock 1971, 1277. Uttlesford, Essex.
Pl. IIIc. PAS: ESS-0C29F8.

1263. Osbournby VI, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-EB33A6.

1278. Washingborough II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-FE8EA4.

1264. Unprovenanced, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-4FC5D1.

Type 4.7.1 ("Duston")

1265. Witherley, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-FC1E77; LEIC-FB0026

1279. Attleborough II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-826725.

1266. Woodstone Barrow, Cambs.
PM: L1024.
Mortimer 1990, Pl. 3.

1280. Baginton, Warks.
WM: unknown accession.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. IIIe; Mortimer
1990, Pl. 7.

1267. Worcester, Worcs.
PAS: WMID3923.

1281. Bennet's Hill, Worcs.
AIM: 15340.
Not published.

Sub-group 4.6

1268. Brompton on Swale, Yorks.
PAS: NCL-D4DF11.

1282. Bergh Apton, grave 18, Norfolk.
NCM: BEA 18C.
Green and Rogerson 1978, 60, Fig. 75c.

1269. East Lindsey, Lincs.
PAS: NLM4175.

1283. Bingham, Notts.
PAS: DENO-2AB607.

1270. Fransham IX, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-312CA1.

1284. Brixworth, Northants.
Unknown location.
Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. IIId.

1271. Greetwell I, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-7E9045.
Plate 42.2.

1285. Bizlincote, Staffs.
Unknown location.
Montagu Benton 1913, Pl. V; Leahy 1978, 7, Pl.
1b.

1272. Market Rasen I, Lincs.
PAS: NLM-CDB1D0.

1286. Brooke, Norfolk.
BM: 1870,1105.10.
Kennet 1976, 101, Pl. I.

1273. Postwick I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-55AC65.

1287. Broughton Lodge, grave 3, Notts.
BYM: NCM 1966-38/596.
Kinsley 1993, 103, Fig. 32, no. 5.

1274. Roudham, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-5D0970.

1275. Sedgeford I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS-E911A6.

1288. Cleatham, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2006.074.
Leahy 2007, 140, Fig. 71, no. 132.

1276. Thornton le Street, Yorks.
PAS: NCL-C90E94.

*1289. Duston, Northants.
 NM: D.164/1956-7.
 Figure 36.1.
 Leeds 1936, Pl. XXII d; Leahy 1978, 9, Pl. 11.

1290. Empingham II, grave 100, Rutland.
 Unknown location.
 Timby 1996, 41, Fig. 21; 229, Fig. 151.

1291. Folkingham IV, Lincs.
 PAS: LIN-1CE356.

1292. Freeby II (Stapleford Park), Leics.
 LM: L.A5.1947.0.0.
 Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. III b.

1293. Hemingstone II, Suffolk.
 Private collection.
 Martin, Pendleton and Plouviez 1998, 214, Fig. 52a.

1294. Hob Hill, Teesside.
 DM: 1924/40/1.
 Gallagher 1987, 10, Fig. 2 no. 1.

1295. Leasingham, Lincs.
 PAS: FAKL-BD5E61.

*1296. Longbridge, unnumbered grave, Warks.
 Plate 31.
 BM: 1880,0214.1.
 Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. LXIX, no. 3; Åberg 1926, 53, Fig. 87; Vierck 1970, 338, Fig. 49, no. 1; Mortimer 1990, Pl. 6.

1297. Market Overton, Rutland.
 RCM: OS 39 (stolen).
 Crowther-Beynon and Leeds 1911, Pl. 71, 4.

1298. Market Overton, Rutland.
 RCM: OS 42 (stolen).
 Crowther-Beynon and Leeds 1911, Pl. 71, 6.

1299. Market Overton, Rutland.
 RCM: OS 41.
 Crowther-Beynon and Leeds 1911, Pl. 71, 5.

1300. Morton on the Hill III, Norfolk.
 PAS: NMS-D0CF62.

1301. North Luffenham, Rutland.
 RCM: OS 94 (stolen).
 Leeds and Pocock 1971, Pl. III a.

1302. Osbaston, Leics.
 PAS: LEIC-AC4A46.

1303. Rothley, Leics.
 ChM: A36-1990.
 Akerman 1855, 40, Pl. XX, no. 2.

1304. South Kesteven V, Lincs.
 PAS: NLM951.

1305. Uprovenanced.
 BM: 1878,1101.283.
 Mortimer 1990, Pl. 4.

1306. Wakerley, grave 42, Northants.
 NM: unknown accession.
 Adams and Jackson 1989, Fig. 40 no. 4; Hines 1993, 11, Fig. 14d.

1307. Wickham Skeith III, Suffolk.
 PAS: SF-68B596.

1308. Witnesham, Suffolk.
 PAS: SF-BB83C3.

1309. Wychnor, Staffs.
 NBC: unknown accession.
 Leahy 1978, 7, Pl. 1a; Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002, 24, Fig. 2.5, no. 1.

Type 4.7.2 ("Kempston")

1310. Haslingfield, Cambs.
 CUMAA: Z21286.
 Leeds 1949, Pl. 139.

1311. Holdenby, grave 4, Northants.
 NM: D104/1955-56.
 Åberg 1926, 55, Fig. 91; Leeds 1949, Pl. 143.

1312. Ipswich I (Hadleigh Road), grave 98, Suffolk.
 IM: 1907.29.1.
 Leeds 1949, Pl. 138; West 1998, 183, Fig. 65, no. 1.

*1313. Kempston, Beds.

CUMAA: 1923.117.

Figure 36.2.

Leeds 1949, Pl. 141.

1314. Little Wilbraham I, Cambs.

CUMAA: 48.1477A/B.

Leeds 1949, Pl. 142; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 107,
no. 2.

1315. Rothley, Leics.

Unknown location.

Leeds 1949, Pl. 140.

Sub-group 4.7

1316. Bonby III, Lincs.

PAS: NLM-14CBE4.

1317. Cleatham, Lincs.

NLMS: US131.

Leahy 2007, 139, Fig. 70, no. 131.

1318. Cleatham, cremation 116, Lincs.

NLMS: MT84KE.

Leahy 2007, 135, Fig. 68.

1319. Fransham IV, Norfolk.

PAS: NMS-AFA802.

1320. Freeby I, Leics.

PAS: LEIC-070B32.

1321. Happisburgh, Norfolk.

PAS: NMS-2F5BD6.

1322. Nettleham I, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-3E1462.

1323. Rampton III, Notts.

PAS: NLM-501CE0.

1324. Repton I, Derbs.

DeM: 1991-118.

Not published.

1325. Repton II, Derbs.

PAS: DENO-54B9F1.

1326. Saffron Walden, Essex.

PAS: FAHG-858AD2.

1327. Unprovenanced.

EM: ASA8.

Not published.

1328. Walcote near Folkingham I, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-FB6A85.

Group 4

1329. Baumber, Lincs.

PAS: SWYOR-50BA95.

1330. Blyborough, Lincs.

PAS: LIN-E2D1A5.

1331. Boothby Graffoe, Lincs.

PAS: LVPL-F4E9B2.

1332. Catfield, Norfolk.

PAS: NMS-5F15F2.

1333. Doncaster, Yorks.

PAS: YORYM660.

1334. Ebberston, Yorks.

PAS: YORYM-A31EA2.

1335. Fordham I, Cambs.

PAS: SF6912.

1336. Hibaldstow I, Lincs.

PAS: NLM6964.

1337. Merton, Norfolk.

PAS: NMS612.

1338. Morton on the Hill I, Norfolk.

PAS: NMS-777CF2.

1339. Norton, grave 80, Teesside.

StM: STCMG:2006.1500.80.1.

Sherlock and Welch 1992a, 175, Fig. 57 no. 1.

1340. Osbournby I, Lincs.

PAS: NLM4226.

1341. Oxborough II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS706.

1342. Oxborough II, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS2233.

1343. Quidenham I, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS500.

*1344. Sleaford I, grave 50, Lincs.
BM: 1883,0401.90.
Plate 32.

1345. Spilsby II, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-97FDC8.

1346. Wood Norton, Norfolk.
PAS: NMS840.

Kent 1.1 ("Bifrons")

1347. Akenham III, Suffolk.
PAS: SF-C8B184.

*1348. Bifrons, grave 15, Kent.
MM: accession unknown.
Figure 37.1.
Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XXXV, no. 12; Åberg 1926, 29, Fig. 33; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 102, no. 2; Mortimer 1990, Fig. 2.8; Hawkes 2000, 16, Fig. 7, no. 1

1349. Bifrons, grave 15, Kent.
MM: accession unknown.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 102, no. 1; Hawkes 2000, 16, Fig. 7, no. 2.

1350. Bifrons, grave 23, Kent.
MM: Baldwin Brown 1915, Pl. XXXV, no. 10; Åberg 1926, 29, Fig. 32; Hawkes 2000, 20, Fig. 11, no. 4.

1351. Kingston II, Kent.
PAS: KENT4437.

1352. Sarre, grave 97, Kent.
Unknown location.
Åberg 1926, 30, Fig. 35; Hawkes 1956, 98, Fig. 19a.

Kent 1.2 ("Howletts")

*1353. Howletts, Kent.
BM: 1918,0708.43.
Figure 37.2.
Plate 33.1.
Åberg 1926, 30, Fig. 37; Hawkes 1956, 98, Fig. 19c; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 118, no. 8.

1354. Springfield Lyons, grave 4988, Essex.
Unknown location.
Tyler and Major 2005, 82, Fig. 37, no. 1.

1355. Springfield Lyons, grave 4988, Essex.
Unknown location.
Tyler and Major 2005, 82, Fig. 37, no. 2.

Kent 1.3 ("Springfield Lyons")

*1356. Fonaby, grave 28, Lincs.
NLMS: NOLMS:2007.058.
Figure 37.3.
Plate 33.2.
Cook 1981, 31, Fig. 10, no. 4.

1357. Springfield Lyons, Essex.
Unknown location.
Tyler and Major 2005, 86, Fig. 41, no. 1.

Kent 2.1 ("Milton-next-Sittingbourne")

1358. Brading, Isle of Wight.
PAS: IOW-4ECE24.

1359. Brocklesby, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1989.363.010.
Not published.

*1360. Buckland, grave 351b, Kent.
BM: 1995,0102.533.
Figure 38.1

1361. Eagle and Swine, Lincs.
PAS: LIN-D196E5.

1362. Gisleham II, Suffolk.
Private collection.
West 1998, 164, Fig. 47, no. 3.

1363. Halling, Kent.
PAS: KENT-88D4A4.

*1364. Howletts, Kent.
BM: 1936,0511.13.
Plate 33.3.

1365. Kingston III, Kent.
PAS: KENT2487.

1366. Mildenhall II, Suffolk.
PAS: SF9155.

1367. Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent.
MM: unknown accession.
Åberg 1926, 31, Fig. 40.

1368. Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent.
MM: unknown accession.
Åberg 1926, 31, Fig. 41.

1369. South Ferriby II, Lincs.
NLMS: SMAG:1989.378.030.
Not published.

1370. Thurcaston and Cropston, Leics.
PAS: LEIC-C33BA1.

Kent 2.2 ("Mucking")

1371. Chilham, Kent.
PAS: KENT4429.

1372. Hoby with Rotherby II, Leics/
PAS: LEIC-D016D6.

*1373. Howletts, grave 1, Kent.
BM: 1936,0511.12.
Plate 36.1.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 118, no. 10.

*1374. Howletts, grave 1, Kent.
BM: 1936,0511.11.
Plate 36.2.
Reichstein 1975, Pl. 118, no. 9.

1375. Lyminge I, grave 1, Kent.
BM: 1890,0803.2.

Schetelig 1906, 101, Fig. 122; Åberg 1926, 30,
Fig. 39; Hawkes 1956, 98, Fig. 20b; Reichstein
1975, Pl. 101, no. 5.

1376. Mucking II, grave 825A, Essex.
BM: 1970,0406.692.
Hirst and Clark 2009, 141, Fig. 74, no. 1.

1377. Mucking II, grave 825A, Essex.
BM: 1970,0406.693.

*1378. Mucking II, grave 878, Essex.
BM: 1970,0406.819.
Figure 38.2.
Hirst and Clark 2009, 168, Fig. 87, no. 2.

1379. Mucking II, grave 878, Essex.
BM: 1970,0406.820.
Hirst and Clark 2009, 168, Fig. 87, no. 3

Imports

*1380. Gilton, Kent.
LiM: M6651.
Plate 34.1.
Åberg 1926, 32, Fig. 42; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 72,
no. 2.

1381. Howletts, Kent.
BM: 1918,0708.42.
Åberg 1926, 30, Fig. 38; Hawkes 1956, 98, Fig.
20a; Reichstein 1975, Pl. 117, no. 7.

*1382. Unprovenanced.
BM: OA 267.
Plate 34.3.

*1383. Unprovenanced.
BM: 1907,1024.9.
Plate 34.2.
Smith 1908, 67, Fig. 3; Åberg 1926, 34, Fig. 49.

1384. South Kesteven VII, Lincs.
PAS: NLM991.

Appendix 2

Cruciform Brooches by Location

The gazetteer provided below lists all sites and find-spots that have yielded cruciform brooches listed by county and then by the name of the site (usually parish). The counties used are the historical counties of England. Object numbers corresponding to the finds list in Appendix 1 follow the site name. Where there is more than one find-spot or site per parish, these are distinguished by Roman numerals, ascending in arbitrary order. Note that many finds from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database may well originate from the same archaeologically defined site (i.e. a cemetery), but their find-spots are distinguished here if the coordinates given on the database differ at all, ranging from a matter of tens of metres to kilometres. Hence, a parish such as Coddanham in Suffolk technically has ten find-spots that have yielded cruciform brooches. However, many of these may well originate from the same cemetery. Alternatively, some metal-detected finds are only given on the database with parish-level accuracy, meaning that many sites may have been lumped together. This introduces an element of bias into the dataset, caused by the varying accuracies with which metal detectorists have recorded their finds. It was felt that, rather than attempting to define these sites as separate cemeteries according to their often inaccurate distance from one another, the data would be presented as it is, preserving here the maximum amount of available information.

Bedfordshire

Dean and Shelton: 756.
Harrold: 1901.
Kempston: 28; 517; 1313.
Sandy: 1238.
Toddington: 948.

Berkshire

East Shefford: 120; 339.
Wargrave: 1255.

Buckinghamshire

Buckingham: 245.
Clifton Reynes: 2059.
Stone: 152.
Wendover: 1825.

Cambridgeshire

Barrington: 45; 300; 465; 539; 770; 940; 1004; 1010.
Barrington A (Edix Hill): 416; 462; 463; 464; 641; 769; 821; 909; 991; 1003; 1896.

Barrington B (Hooper's Field): 417; 418; 822;
1176.

Borough Green: 838.

Elm I: 853; 1057.

Elm II: 1109; 1533; 1658.

Elm III: 854; 1110; 1138; 1659; 1867.

Elm IV: 1408.

Elm V: 1534.

Elm VI: 1660.

Fleam Dyke: 668.

Fordham I: 1335.

Fordham II: 1017; 1061.

Fordham III: 477.

Girton: 206; 207; 208; 424; 479; 549; 550; 758;
920; 921; 977; 1243; 1869.

Great Shelford: 1870.

Haslingfield: 210; 211; 425; 426; 584; 585; 759;
791; 967; 1000; 1001; 1114; 1180; 1310.

Linton Heath: 1251.

Little Shelford I: 93.

Little Shelford II: 1787.

Little Wilbraham I: 265; 266; 267; 314; 399; 400;
436; 486; 487; 518; 553; 600; 601; 688; 689;
742; 775; 776; 794; 795; 823; 932; 968; 969;
970; 983; 1005; 1118; 1119; 1314.

Little Wilbraham II: 2032.

Littleport: 1676.

Longstanton I: 1789.

Longstanton II: 1790.

Minerva: 438; 762; 875.

Newnham Croft: 797; 798; 1185; 1186.

Oakington: 275; 607; 608; 1879.

Pampisford: 1802.

Soham I: 1175.

Soham II: 997; 1477.

Soham III: 783.

Soham IV: 1735.

Soham V: 1246.

St Ives: 1158.

St John's: 35; 36; 230; 231; 232; 233; 282; 283;
447; 556; 557; 558; 767; 801; 936; 937; 962;
988; 1025.

Trumpington: 75; 286; 450.

Water Newton: 1097.

West Colville I: 1167.

West Colville II: 989.

West Colville III: 752.

West Colville IV: 990.

West Wrating I: 1097.

West Wrating II 901.

West Wrating III: 1099.

West Wrating IV: 457; 1980.

West Wrating V: 1833.

Wood Walton: 903.

Woodstone Barrow: 731; 1002; 1031; 1266.

County Durham

Andrew's Hill: 532; 637; 832; 833; 1241; 1395;
1396; 1432; 1490; 1491; 1492; 1916; 1990;
2054.

Coatham Mundeville: 658.

Greenbank: 675; 676; 1192; 1213.

Stillington and Whitton I: 359.

Stillington and Whitton II: 234.

Stillington and Whitton III: 1216.

Derbyshire

Barrow upon Trent: 301; 836; 837; 951; 1041;
1042; 1043; 1210; 1502; 1750; 1922; 2020.

Duffield Castle: 1054.

Norbury and Roston: 1586.

Repton I: 1324.

Repton II: 1325.

Stanton by Bridge: 284.

Swarkestone Lowes: 621.

Essex

Bradwell-on-Sea: 509.

Colchester I (Guildford Road Estate): 86; 114.

Colchester II (Union House): 772; 1178.

Great Chesterford: 790; 979.

Kelvedon: 1956.

Little Oakley: 1727.

Mount Bures: 1665.

Mucking I: 780; 781.

Mucking II: 1376; 1377; 1378; 1379; 2049.

Roxwell: 1225.

Saffron Walden: 1326.

Springfield Lyons: 446; 1354; 1355; 1357.

Uttlesford: 1277.

Gloucestershire

Bishops Cleeve: 1134.

Hampshire

Cliddesden: 85.
 Headbourne Worthy I: 58.
 Headbourne Worthy II: 59.
 Kings Worthy: 1783.
 Twyford: 1633; 1740.
 Winchester: 77.

Hertfordshire

Ashwell: 13.
 Cottered: 1684.
 St Ippolyts: 1817.

Isle of Wight

Brading: 1358.
 Calbourne: 1760.
 Godshill: 1776.
 Shorewell: 67; 182.
 Totland: 187.

Kent

Aldington: 1857.
 Ash I: 1715.
 Ash II: 413.
 Bifrons: 195; 1348; 1349; 1350.
 Boxley: 1897.
 Buckland: 1360.
 Chartham: 1401.
 Chilham: 1371.
 Chislet: 1690.
 Cliffe and Cliffe Woods I: 49.
 Cliffe and Cliffe Woods II: 1762.
 Cooling: 511.
 Dover I: 1441.
 Dover II: 202.
 Eastry I: 165.
 Eastry II: 2062.
 Eastry III: 473.
 Faversham (King's Field): 513.
 Gilton: 1380.
 Great Mongeham I: 56.
 Great Mongeham II: 1948.
 Great Mongeham III: 57.
 Halling: 1363.
 Hollingbourne: 867.

Horton Kirby and South Darenth: 1697.
 Howletts: 592; 1353; 1364; 1373; 1374; 1381.
 Kingston I: 484.
 Kingston II: 1351.
 Kingston III: 1365.
 Kingston IV: 1784.
 Littlebourne: 30.
 Lyminge I: 1375.
 Lyminge II: 971.
 Lyminge III: 1791.
 Milton-next-Sittingbourne: 1367; 1368.
 Northbourne: 177.
 Ramsgate: 1853.
 Ripple I: 181.
 Ripple II: 1907.
 Sarre: 1352.
 Wingham: 1983.
 Woodnesborough I: 1744.
 Woodnesborough II: 1835.
 Woodnesborough III: 1986.
 Woodnesborough IV: 522.
 Woodnesborough V: 1836.
 Worth: 100.

Leicestershire

Anstey: 1917.
 Asfordby: 1748.
 Barrow upon Soar: 102; 1991.
 Beeby: 643.
 Blaby: 1688.
 Borrough on the Hill: 419.
 Burton and Dalby: 845; 1438; 1927.
 Catthorpe: 1761.
 Clawson, Hose and Harby: 1106.
 Cold Newton: 115.
 Desford: 1137.
 Dunbar Road, Leicester: 915.
 Freeby I: 1320.
 Freeby II: 1292.
 Frisby I: 369.
 Frisby II: 919.
 Frisby III: 1845; 1945.
 Frisby IV: 205.
 Frisby V: 1773.
 Glen Parva: 536.
 Great Easton: 481.
 Hemington: 1564.
 Hobby with Rotherby I: 2026.

Hoby with Rotherby II: 1372.
 Hobby with Rotherby III: 257.
 Hobby with Rotherby IV: 428.
 Hobby with Rotherby V: 61
 Hobby with Rotherby VI: 866.
 Kibworth Beauchamp: 311; 312.
 Loughborough: 315.
 Market Bosworth I: 1700.
 Market Bosworth II: 372.
 Market Bosworth III: 1701.
 Measham I: 401.
 Measham II: 217.
 Melton Mowbray: 1577.
 Oadby: 702.
 Osbaston: 1302.
 Rothley: 353; 1203; 1315.
 Saxby: 610; 611.
 Scalford: 994.
 Sheepy I: 2008.
 Sheepy II: 888; 1091; 1667; 1809.
 Sproxton: 1889.
 Thurcraston and Cropston: 1370.
 Thurmaston: 2043.
 Wanlip: 327; 1028.
 West Langton: 454.
 Westcotes: 628.
 Wigston Magna: 408; 459; 938; 1197; 1834.
 Witherley: 1265.
 Wymeswold I: 1032.
 Wymeswold II: 1837.

Lincolnshire

Allington: 2018.
 Ancaster: 412.
 Appleby I: 1036.
 Appleby II: 78; 101; 460; 461; 1008; 1132; 1493;
 1494; 1495; 1713; 1714; 1747; 1858; 1859;
 1918.
 Appleby III: 1233.
 Asgarby: 638; 632.
 Ashby cum Fenby: 1919.
 Aswarby and Swarby I: 1920.
 Aswarby and Swarby II: 834.
 Aswarby and Swarby III: 835.
 Aunsby and Dembleby I: 1496; 1497.
 Aunsby and Dembleby II: 1498.
 Aunsby and Dembleby III: 1499.
 Aunsby and Dembleby IV: 1500.

Aylesby I: 564; 1037.
 Aylesby II: 385.
 Barkston I: 1040,
 Barkston II: 1501
 Barnetby le Wold: 1009.
 Baston I: 466.
 Baston II: 103; 333; 910; 911.
 Baston III: 104.
 Baumber: 1329.
 Beckingham: 1256.
 Beesby with Salesby: 194.
 Bilsby: 1923.
 Binbrook I: 80; 303.
 Binbrook II: 467.
 Binbrook III: 468.
 Blyborough: 1330.
 Bolingbroke: 81.
 Bonby I: 469; 1720; 1863.
 Bonby II: 1045.
 Bonby III: 1316.
 Boothby Graffoe: 1331.
 Bottesford: 546.
 Bourne: 524.
 Brinkhill: 1758.
 Brocklesby: 840; 1046; 1359; 1518.
 Caistor: 48.
 Carlton Scroop: 572; 754.
 Castledyke South: 83; 335; 653; 654; 745; 755;
 771; 848.
 Caythorpe: 247.
 Claxby I: 110.
 Claxby II: 2056; 2057; 2058.
 Cleatham: 2; 111; 163; 199; 200; 201; 248; 249;
 250; 251; 305; 336; 573; 655; 656; 657; 736;
 804; 805; 824; 850; 1047; 1048; 1211; 1288;
 1317; 1318; 1521; 1654; 1864; 1929; 1930;
 1931; 2021; 2022.
 Corringham I: 1051; 1052.
 Corringham II: 851.
 Digby: 1766.
 Eagle and Swine: 1361
 East Barkwith I: 119.
 East Barkwith II: 338.
 East Kirkby I: 757.
 East Kirkby II: 1939.
 East Lindsey: 1269.
 Edlington: 1258; 2023.
 Elsham I: 422.
 Elsham II: 1994.

- Flixborough: 669; 826.
 Folkingham I: 829.
 Folkingham II: 368.
 Folkingham III: 670.
 Folkingham IV: 1291.
 Folkingham V: 1771.
 Fonaby: 308; 476; 579; 671; 672; 737; 806; 860;
 917; 918; 966; 1171; 1172; 1191; 1356.
 Fulstow: 1774.
 Gainsborough: 1946.
 Gayton le Marsh: 863.
 Glenthams: 22; 738.
 Grantham (Cold Slate Mill): 582.
 Great Ponton: 1900.
 Greatford: 1064.
 Greetham with Somersby: 343.
 Greetwell I: 1271.
 Greetwell II: 1065.
 Greetwell III: 1554.
 Hardwick: 2066.
 Harmston: 310.
 Hatton I: 427.
 Hatton II: 864.
 Healing: 587; 1068; 1694; 1872.
 Heckington I: 865.
 Heckington II: 1780.
 Heckington III: 256.
 Heckington IV: 1561.
 Heighington: 1562.
 Hemswell: 588; 739; 740.
 Hibaldstow I: 1336.
 Hibaldstow II: 2067.
 Hibaldstow III: 1070.
 Honington: 680.
 Horncastle: 1724.
 Howell: 62; 980; 1452.
 Keddington: 1955.
 Keelby I: 348; 370; 396; 1455.
 Keelby II: 1567.
 Keelby III: 1456.
 Kirkby la Thorpe: 1182.
 Kirmington: 1569.
 Kirton in Lindsey: 1698; 1848.
 Laceby I: 873; 1117; 1221.
 Laceby II: 2029.
 Laughton: 1235.
 Leasingham: 958; 1295.
 Lenton I: 1073.
 Lenton II: 1422.
 Lenton Keisby and Osgodby I: 92; 1150; 1786;
 1957.
 Lenton Keisby and Osgodby II: 1903.
 Lenton Keisby and Osgodby III: 1904.
 Lincoln: 485.
 Linwood I: 371.
 Linwood II: 1699.
 Lissington I: 1575.
 Lissington II: 2000.
 Louth I: 807.
 Louth II: 1851; 1959.
 Loveden Hill: 1120.
 Ludford: 215.
 Market Rasen I: 1272; 1792.
 Market Rasen II: 1423.
 Market Rasen III: 135.
 Market Rasen IV: 1961.
 Market Stainton: 1905.
 Marsh Chapel: 31.
 Marton: 1962; 2033.
 Melton Ross: 488.
 Middle Rasen I: 94; 174; 269; 402.
 Middle Rasen II: 218; 316; 1078; 1579; 1580;
 1729.
 Middle Rasen III: 1581.
 Miningsby: 32.
 Morton: 1151.
 Navenby: 273.
 Nettleham I: 1322.
 Nettleham II: 526; 1878.
 Nettleton: 1080.
 Newton and Hacey I: 1585.
 Newton and Hacey II: 880; 1704.
 Newton-on-Trent: 441.
 Normanton: 1587.
 North Hykeham: 350; 1795.
 North Kelsey: 7.
 North Kesteven I: 1461.
 North Kesteven II: 274.
 North Kesteven III: 318.
 North Kesteven IV: 1588.
 North Kesteven V: 1589.
 North Kesteven VI: 1590.
 North Kesteven VII: 1852.
 North Kesteven VIII: 351.
 North Ormsby: 1796.
 North Thoresby: 494.
 Northorpe I: 1463.
 Northorpe II: 1123; 1464; 1591; 1666.

- Osbournby I: 495; 1022; 1340.
 Osbournby II: 375.
 Osbournby III: 376.
 Osbournby IV: 2036.
 Osbournby V: 1597.
 Osbournby VI: 321; 1263.
 Osgodby: 1236; 1797.
 Owersby: 404.
 Owmbly-by-Spital: 2004.
 Owston Ferry I: 882.
 Owston Ferry II: 1083.
 Partney: 764; 1174.
 Quarrington: 703.
 Revesby I: 985.
 Revesby II: 497.
 Roxby cum Risby I: 137; 1883.
 Rosby cum Risby II: 704.
 Ruskington I: 555; 609; 705; 706; 745; 746; 808; 1187; 1226.
 Ruskington II: 1885.
 Ruskington III: 799.
 Ruskington IV: 2052.
 Scawby: 1239.
 Scopwick: 1090; 1734.
 Searby: 708.
 Sheffield's Hill: 356; 711; 712; 809; 1616.
 Sibsey: 1240.
 Sleaford I: 140; 379; 443; 499; 500; 501; 502; 615; 713; 714; 715; 716; 810; 973; 974; 987; 1188; 1227; 1228; 1229; 1344; 1668.
 Sleaford II: 616.
 Sleaford III: 444; 1092; 1887; 1970.
 Sleaford IV: 1617.
 Sleaford V: 617.
 Sleaford VI: 1618.
 Snitterby: 618.
 South Carlton: 380; 717; 747; 890; 1670; 1671; 1736; 1908; 1909; 1910.
 South Elkington: 96.
 South Ferriby I: 70.
 South Ferriby II: 142; 280; 322; 975; 1093; 1094; 1369; 1427; 1620; 1737; 1811.
 South Kesteven I: 2053.
 South Kesteven II: 2010.
 South Kesteven III: 1812.
 South Kesteven IV: 1478; 1479.
 South Kesteven V: 891; 1304.
 South Kesteven VI: 1125.
 South Kesteven VII: 183; 1384; 1480; 1621; 1622; 1623; 1624; 1625; 1672; 1710; 2011; 2012.
 South Kesteven VIII: 1481.
 South Kesteven IX: 1024.
 South Kesteven X: 1813; 2013.
 South Willingham: 358.
 Spilsby I: 1911.
 Spilsby II: 1345.
 Swaton (Smithy Farm): 1820.
 Tallington I: 235; 236; 622; 720; 721; 1026.
 Tallington II: 828.
 Tathwell: 360; 531.
 Thimbleby I: 802; 1027.
 Thimbleby II: 1855.
 Thimbleby III: 323.
 Torksey I: 325.
 Torksey II: 1822.
 Torksey III: 1127.
 Ulceby with Fordington: 2045.
 Waddington: 560.
 Waithe: 636.
 Walcote near Folkingham I: 1328.
 Walcote near Folkingham II: 1247.
 Washingborough I: 1673; 1856.
 Washingborough II: 1278.
 Welbeck Hill: 544; 729; 1231.
 Wellingore I: 561.
 Wellingore II: 1098.
 Welton: 156.
 Welton le Marsh: 1639.
 West Ashby: 1892.
 West Lindsey I: 157; 1129; 1232; 1641; 1674; 1742; 1829; 1893; 1894.
 West Lindsey II: 1830.
 West Lindsey III: 1164; 1743.
 West Lindsey IV: 364.
 West Rasen: 1642; 1831.
 West Torrington: 899; 900.
 Westborough: 902; 1100; 1981.
 Wickenby I: 331.
 Wickenby II: 1429; 1484.
 Wickenby III: 507.
 Wickenby IV: 1644.
 Wickenby V: 1168.
 Wickenby VI: 1645.
 Wickenby VII: 1101.
 Wickenby VIII: 297; 1646.
 Winterton I: 1984.

Winterton II: 1985.
 Wood Enderby I: 299.
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Appendix 3

A Guide to Fragment Classification

With the rapidly expanding number of finds recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database there is an increasing need to provide a framework for classifying fragments. Of the 1,137 cruciform brooches from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database in the present dataset, only seventy-two (6 per cent) are complete (i.e. have at least one of each symmetrical component, see Table 1, above p. 10). Despite the incomplete nature of most metal-detected cruciform brooches, 568 of them, almost exactly 50 per cent, are actually assignable at least to the group level, if not a specific sub-group or type. However, this leaves 569 fragments without a classificatory designation in the typology presented in Chapter 2. They include side-knobs, head-plates and feet, but exclude bows and catch-plates because these fragments alone are not exclusively assignable to the cruciform brooch series, but could equally well belong to small long or great square-headed brooches, for instance. Top-knobs are diagnostically classifiable by the head-plate fragments to which they usually adhere. Due to the highly incomplete nature of many of these fragments, they can only tell us a limited amount. Nevertheless, diagnostic characteristics of some can often assign them to either group 2 or 3, and hence therefore phase B. Obviously, if a fragment can be identified as belonging to phases A and C then they must also belong to groups 1 or (the latter half of) 4. There are in fact far fewer difficulties with classifying group 4 fragments, which are almost always assignable to at least the sub-group if not type level. Of the fragmented side-knobs, most of those with a half-round section belong to phase B. The case is not so clear cut for those with a fully round section, as they sporadically appear among group 2 brooches. Most head-plates are also assignable to either phase A or B. A small head-plate with a fully round top-knob can usually be placed in one of the group 1 sub-groups with a degree of confidence, but those that cannot can generally be placed at least in group 1 and therefore phase A. Most other head-plate forms are either assignable to group 4, or belong ambiguously to either group 2 or group 3. While it is true that most group 3 head-plates have expanded trapezoid wings as opposed to the smaller rectangular wings of group 2 brooches, there is too much crossover for this to be a definitive means of classification. That said, very large examples with decorated central panels can often be identified as sub-group 3.3 brooches with a degree of confidence. The

key diagnostic component in the typology was the foot form, so feet must be severely fragmented or worn for them to be unclassifiable to at least the group level and most can in fact be assigned a specific type. Hence, most of the foot fragments without a proper identification are also not very datable, because they are either highly abraded or consist only of small sections of collars, brows and eyes missing the diagnostic terminal ends.

In sum, although classifying fragments has only marginal importance to most of the discussion presented in this book, it does have considerable utility to a dataset in which these fragments will soon predominate. The scheme presented below is not exhaustive and it is presented with the modest aim of at least providing a language with which fragments can be described.

Side-knobs

Kb1: Polyhedral or faceted and separately cast (e.g. Figures 5.2 and 9.3). These are always fully rounded and assignable to either group 1 or 2. Because they occur in both of these groups, they are also split between phases A and B, though probably only the earliest part of that latter phase.

Kb2: Fully rounded and separately cast. These side-knobs also occur in group 1 and group 2. Therefore, like kb1 they belong to phase A or an earlier part of phase B.

Kb3: Tabbed and separately cast (e.g. Figures 5.2, 9.4 and 15.3). These side-knobs occur most frequently among group 2 brooches, but also in Kentish group 1, as well as very occasionally in group 3. They can therefore usually be placed within phase B. These knobs can also occur as separately cast top-knobs, which are indistinguishable.

Kb4: Half round and separately cast. This is the most common type of side-knob belonging to many members of groups 2 and 3. Though side-knobs rarely survive on group 1 brooches, those that do are all fully round, so the half-round examples are confidently designated to phase B.

Kb5: Attached, half-round and integrally cast. These side-knobs survive attached to a small fragment of head-plate. They are not distinguishable between groups 2 and 3, as they are very common among all of these brooches. They do not, however, occur in groups 1 and 4, which places them in phase B.

Kb6: Small zoomorphic and separately cast (e.g. Figure 15.9). There are only five examples of these separately cast decorative knobs and thus they are very rare indeed. Even among more complete members of the corpus we have only three examples, all of which occur as integrally cast top-knobs. Considering the fact that

no example of these occurring as side-knobs is known, they may not even belong to the cruciform brooch series. They do, however, bear resemblance to similar knobs found on continental radiate brooches, which more than likely were the models influencing those few cruciform brooches that feature them. This leaves open the possibility that these fragments instead belong to the radiate series of bow brooches.

Head-plates

Hp1: Small, narrow rectangular wings, fully round top-knob. Though these head-plate fragments generally belong to group 1, there are some examples from sub-group 2.1, which almost certainly belong to a very early part of phase B, if not phase A.

Hp2a: Large, rectangular wings and not decorated. These head-plates also usually have separately cast side-knobs, but this is not consistently the case. Most probably they derive from sub-group 2.1 brooches, although this specific form is also not uncommon in group 3. Hence, they belong to phase B.

Hp2b: Small, rectangular wings and not decorated. These are the smaller counterparts of hp2a. They feature integrally cast side-knobs more often and sometimes also double pin lugs. They probably therefore derive from sub-group 2.2 brooches. These fragments are confidently designated to phase B.

Hp2c: Small, rectangular wings and decorated. These are the same as hp2b, except they feature a decorative motif on the central panel, usually a ring-and-dot. They also probably most frequently derive from sub-group 2.2 brooches and hence belong to phase B.

Hp3a: Large, trapezoid wings generally with separately cast side-knobs. These head-plates are typical of sub-groups 3.1 and 3.2 and therefore most probably derive from group 3. However, they are also prevalent among type 2.1.4 brooches, and occasionally other members of sub-group 2.1. As such, they belong to phase B.

Hp3b: Small, trapezoid wings with generally integrally cast side-knobs. Most of these fragments probably derive from sub-group 3.4, but they are also known among sub-group 2.2 brooches and therefore belong to phase B.

Hp μ : Unidentifiable. This designation is used for fragments of head-plate where the wings are not sufficiently intact to make any of the above classifications. However, they must have at least small sections of a central panel and a wing in order for them to belong to the cruciform brooch series at all. Even with this

characteristic they still potentially derive from small long brooches, which occasionally feature a panelled head-plate as well. They are not assignable to any phase as they could potentially belong to any group.

Feet

Ft1: No brow. These fragments must feature at least the eyes and the section above it. This is not an especially useful classification, as the fragment could still belong to any of groups 1, 2 or 3. Nevertheless often it is the only distinguishing mark of extremely fragmented items. They are not assignable to either phases A or B as they could belong to either.

Ft2: With brow. Again, this is not an especially useful characterisation, but occasionally the brow is the only element to survive. Because brows do not occur in group 1, however, even these tiny and largely ambiguous fragments probably belong to phase B.

Ft3: With divided brow (e.g. Figure 9.22). While not a feature that was prominent in the typological classifications offered in Chapter 2, this is quite a specific arrangement where the 'brow' has two clear halves and a groove running down the centre. In fact, the element may actually represent ears, as discussed above (pp. 22, 34). This is a feature particularly prominent among type 2.1.4 and is also found occasionally on type 3.2.4 brooches. As such, it belongs to phase B.

Ftu: Unidentifiable. This designation is for fragments too small even for any of the above very basic classifications. These are small sections containing an eye, or are so abraded that any diagnostic features are not visible. They cannot be assignable to a phase any more specific than A or B (phase C feet are usually highly distinctive).

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Plate 1. 1. #35 St John's, Cambridge (1.1.2); 2. #36 St John's, Cambridge (1.1.2); 3. #21 grave 7, Glaston, Rutland (1.1.2); 4. #27 Ixworth, Suffolk (1.1.2). 1:1.



Plate 2. 1. #95 Scole, Norfolk (1.2.1); #80 Binbrook, Lincolnshire (1.2.1); 3. #104 Baston, Lincolnshire (1.2.2); 4. #110 Claxby, Lincolnshire (1.2.2); 5. #107 Brixworth, Northamptonshire (1.2.2). 1:1.



Plate 3. 1. #120 East Shefford, Berkshire (1.2.2); 2. #140 Grave 66, Sleaford, Lincolnshire (1.2.2); 3. #138 Rudston, Yorkshire (1.2.2); 4. #139 Rudston, Yorkshire (1.2.2). 1:1.

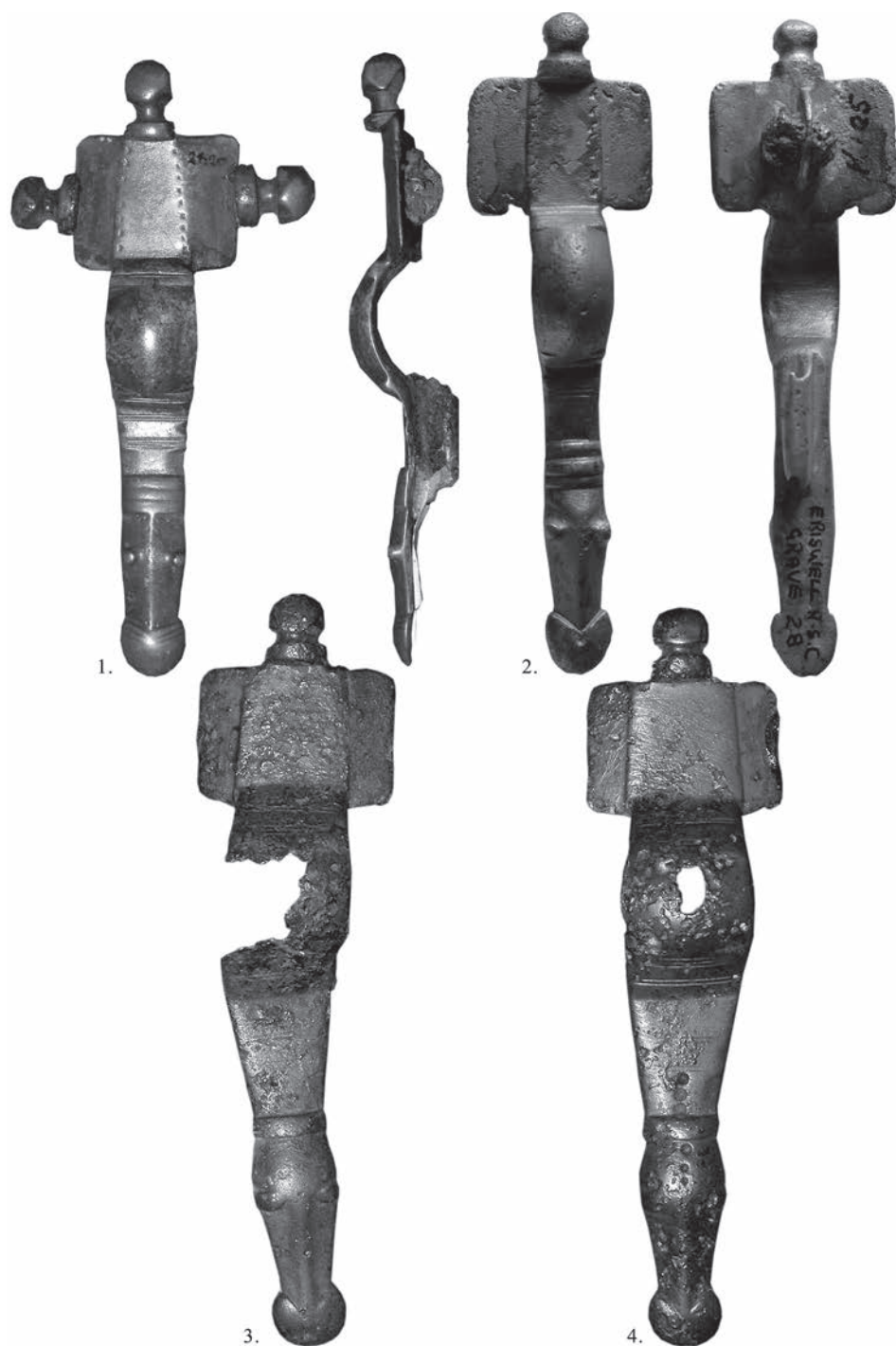


Plate 4. 1. #207 grave 7, Girton, Cambridgeshire (2.1.1); 2. #203 grave 28, Eriswell (Lakenheath Airfield), Suffolk (2.1.1); 3. #230 St John's, Cambridge (2.1.1); 4. #231 St John's, Cambridge (2.1.1). 1:1.

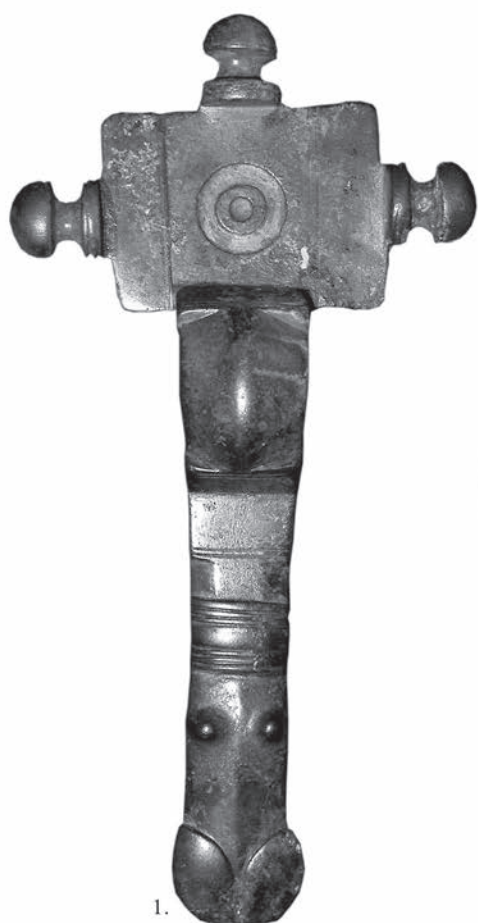


Plate 5. 1. #233 grave 8, St John's, Cambridge (2.1.1); 2. #238 West Stow, Suffolk (2.1.1). 1:1.

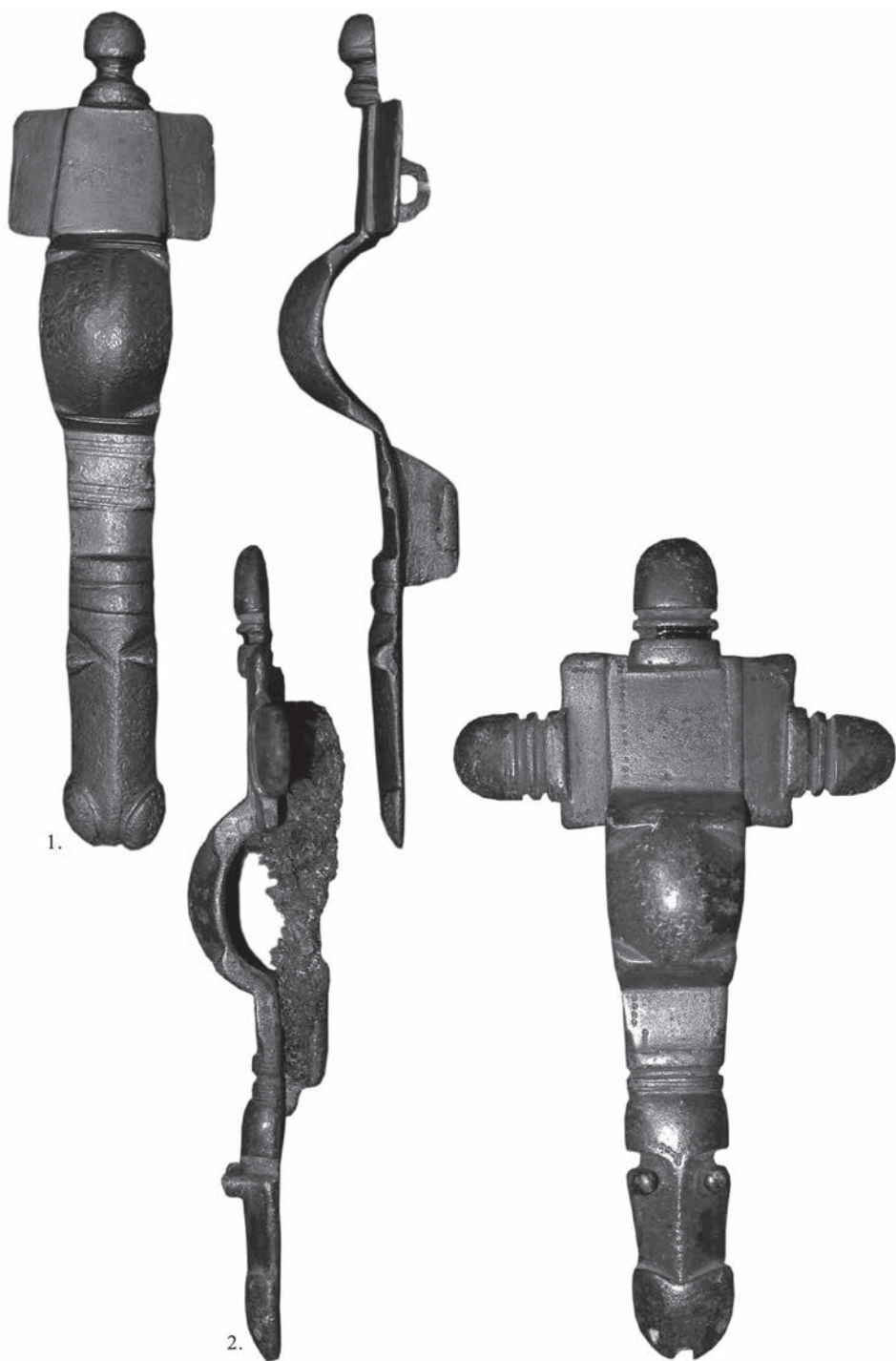


Plate 6. 1. #267 grave 173, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (2.1.2); 2. #258 grave 48, Holywell Row, Suffolk (2.1.2). 1:1.



Plate 7. 1. #305 grave 41, Cleatham, Lincolnshire (2.1.3); 2. #306 Cranwich, Norfolk (2.1.3). 1:1.

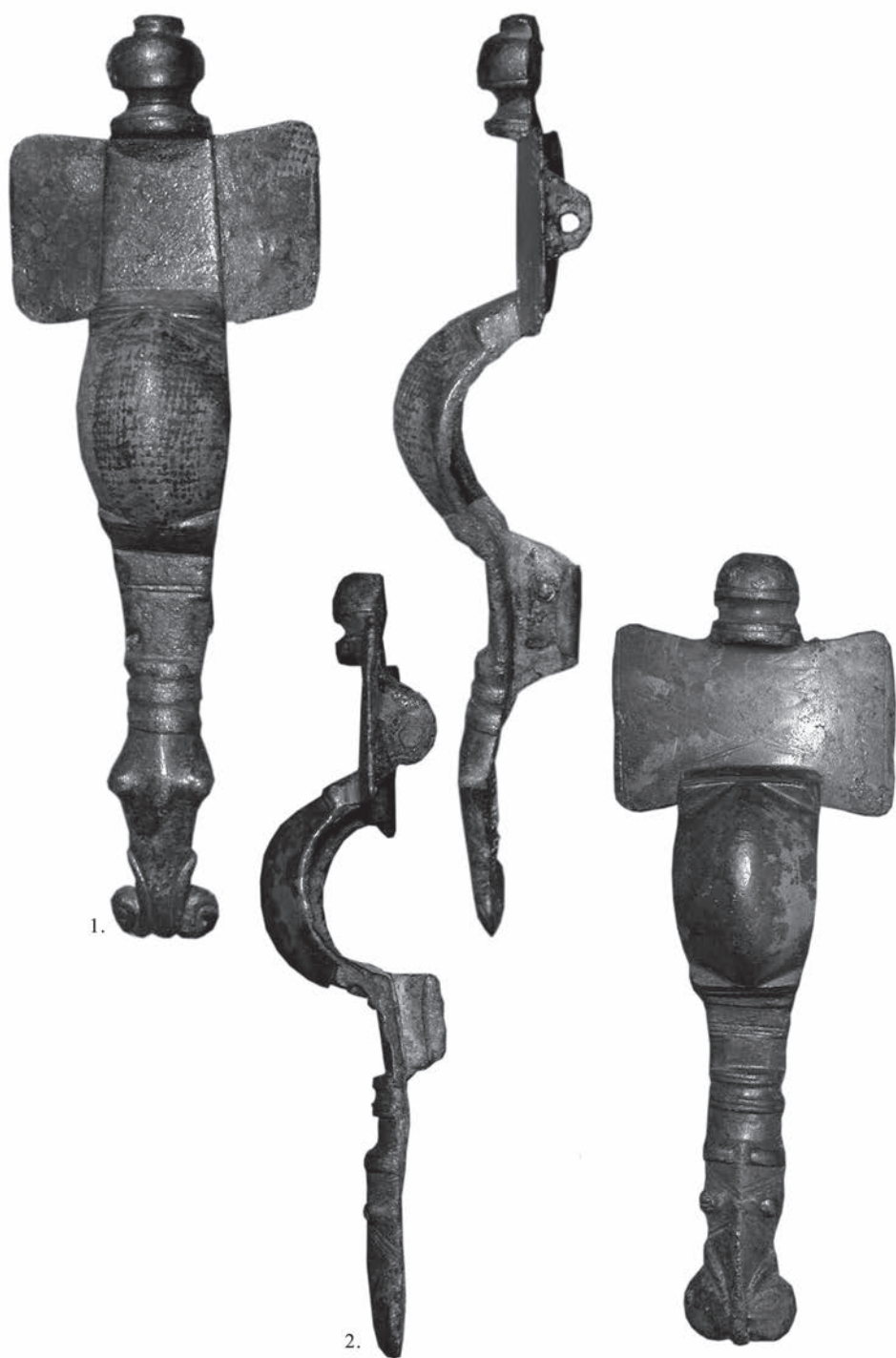


Plate 8. 1. #346 Icklingham (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk (2.1.4); 2. #365 West Stow, Suffolk (2.1.4). 1:1.

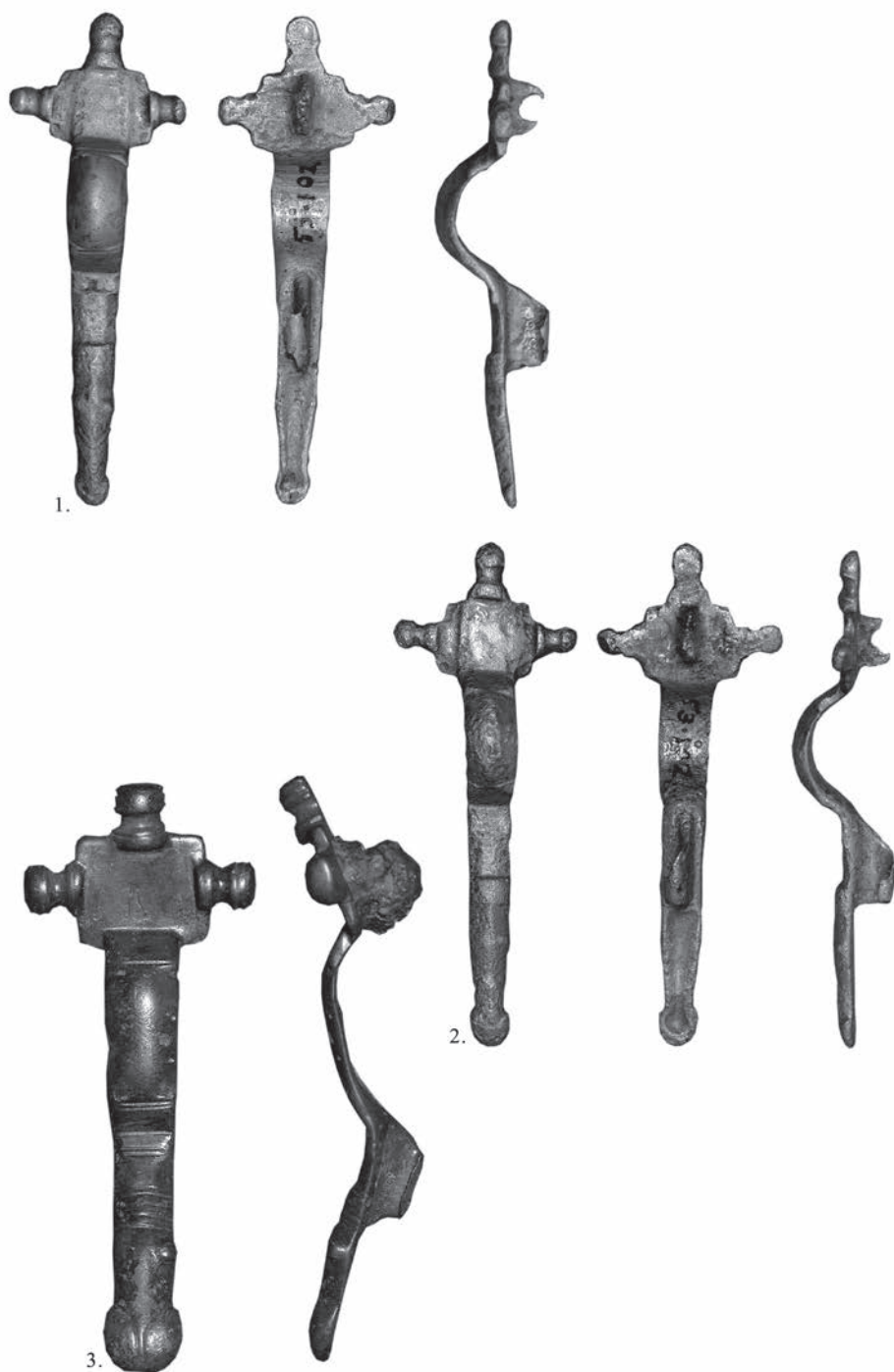


Plate 9. 1. #399 Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (2.2.1); 2. #400 Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (2.2.1); 3. #404 Owersby, Lincolnshire (2.2.1). 1:1.

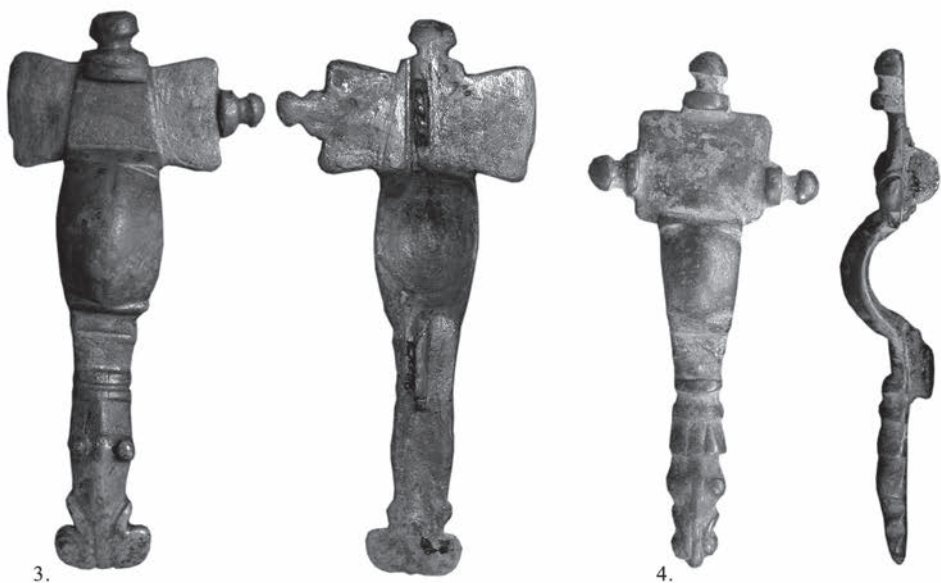
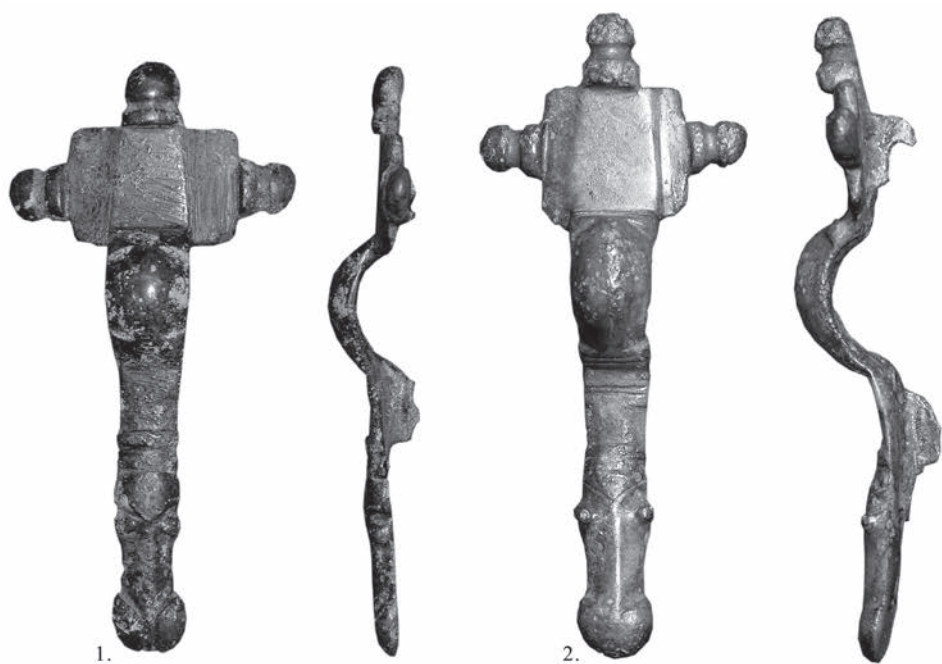


Plate 10. 1. #434 Lakenheath, Suffolk (2.2.2); #427 Hatton, Lincolnshire (2.2.2); 3. #464 grave 93, Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambridgeshire (2.2.3); 4. #465 Barrington I, Cambridgeshire (2.2.3). 1:1.

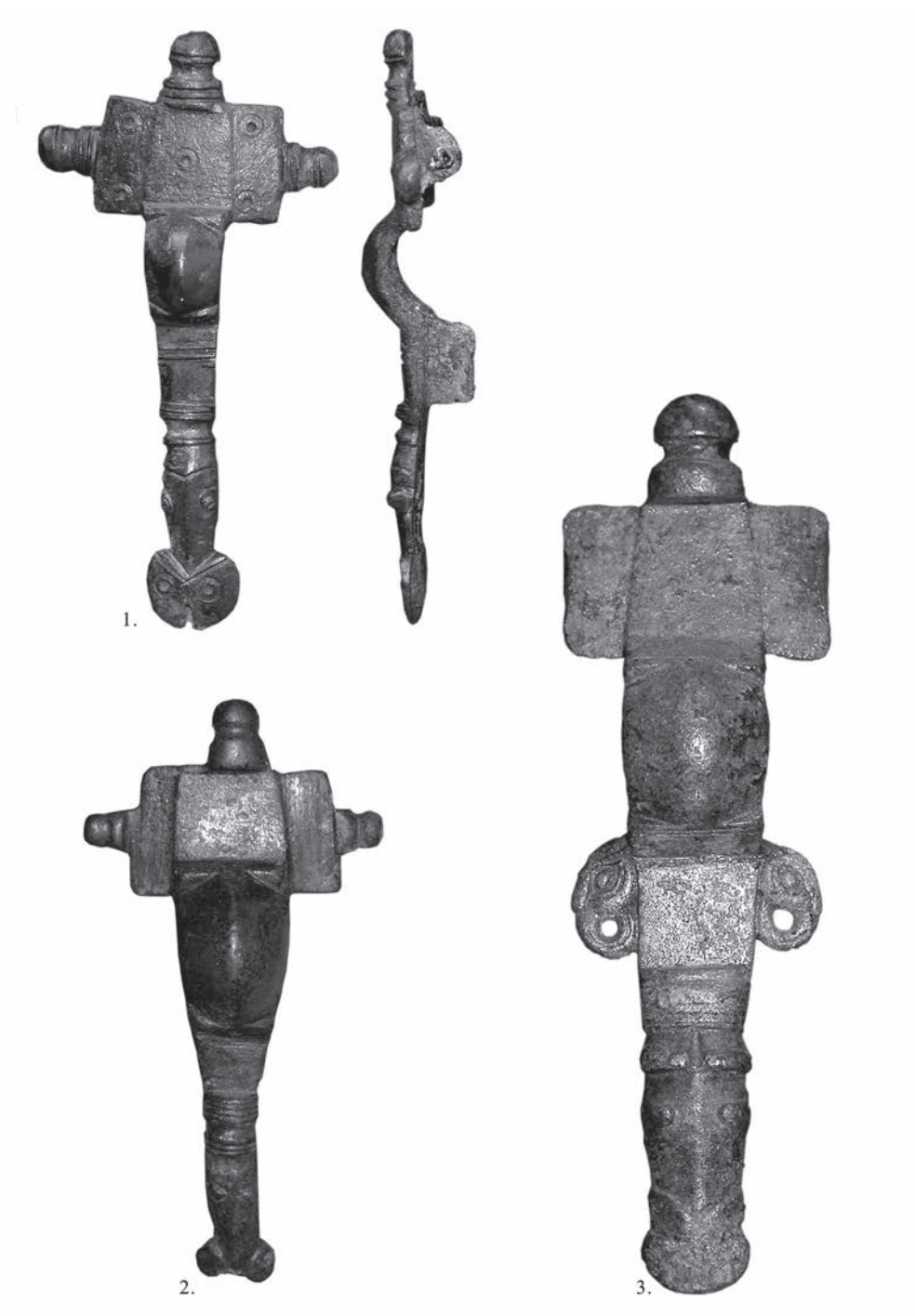


Plate 11. 1. #483 Icklingham I (Mitchell's Hill), Suffolk (2.2.3); 2. #512 Exning (Windmill Hill), Suffolk (2.2.4); 3. #546 Bottesford, Lincolnshire (3.0.2). 1:1.



Plate 12. 1. #606 North Luffenham, Rutland (3.1.1). 1:1.

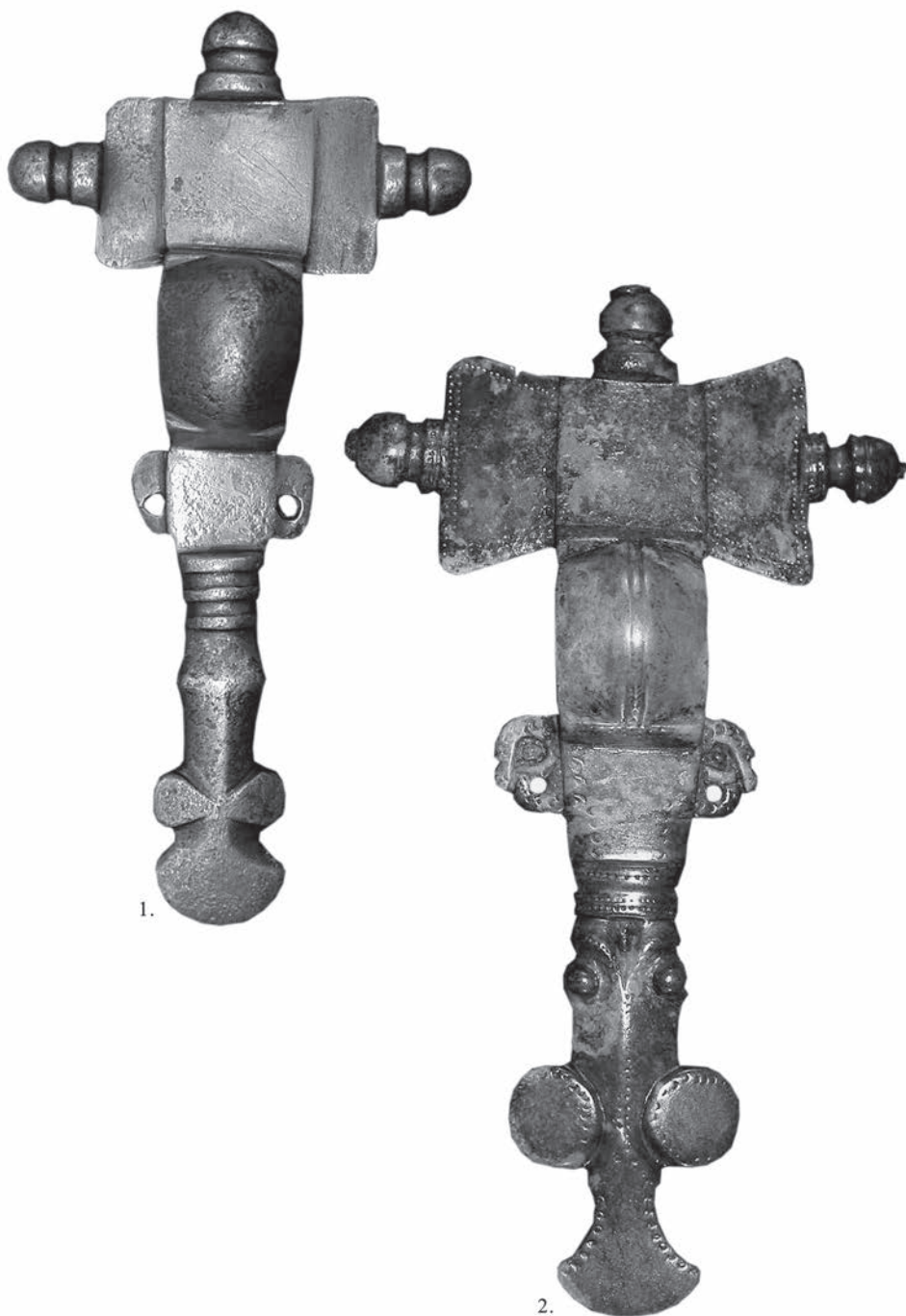


Plate 13. #689 grave 171, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (3.2.1); 2. #655 grave 30, Cleatham, Lincolnshire (3.2.1). 1:1.



1.



2.

Plate 14. 1. #642 Barton Seagrave, Northamptonshire (3.2.1); #699 North Luffenham, Rutland (3.2.1). 1:1.



Plate 15. #738 Glentham, Lincolnshire (3.2.2). 1:1.

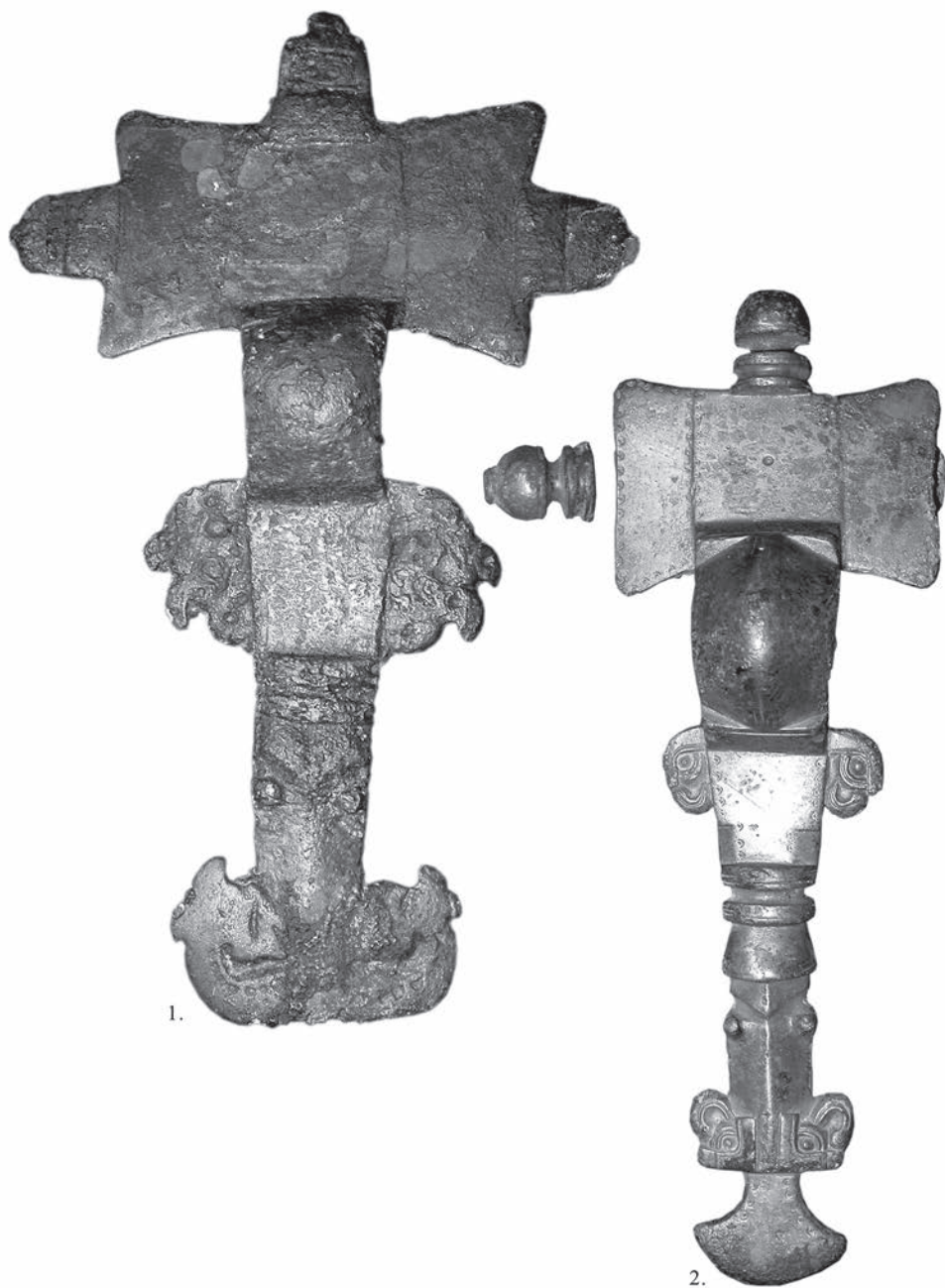


Plate 16. 1. #767 St John's, Cambridge (3.2.3); 2. #760 grave 99, Holywell Row, Suffolk (3.2.3). 1:1.



Plate 17. 1. #778 grave 10, Londesborough, Yorkshire (3.2.4); 2. #770 Barrington I, Cambridgeshire (3.2.4). 1:1.

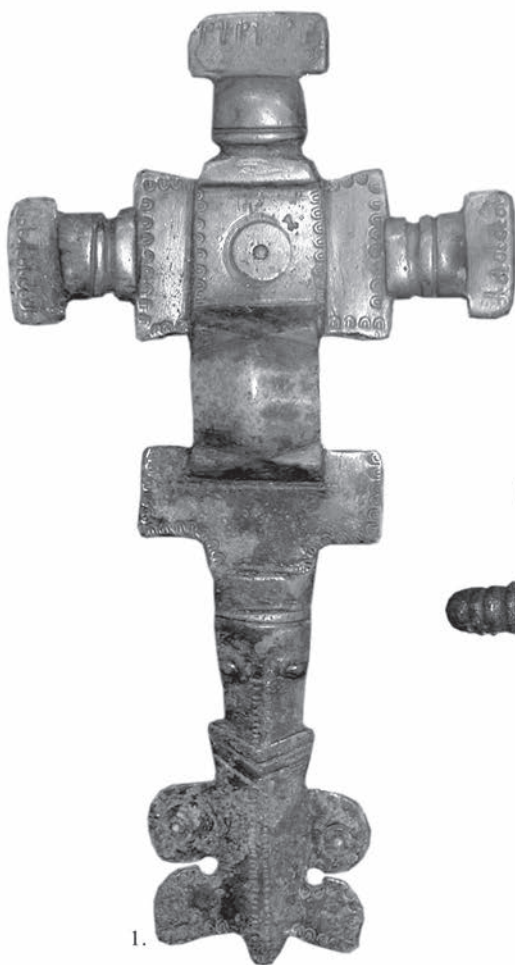


Plate 18. 1. #797 Newnham Croft, Cambridgeshire (3.2.5). 2. #811 Staxton, Yorkshire (3.2.6). 1:1.

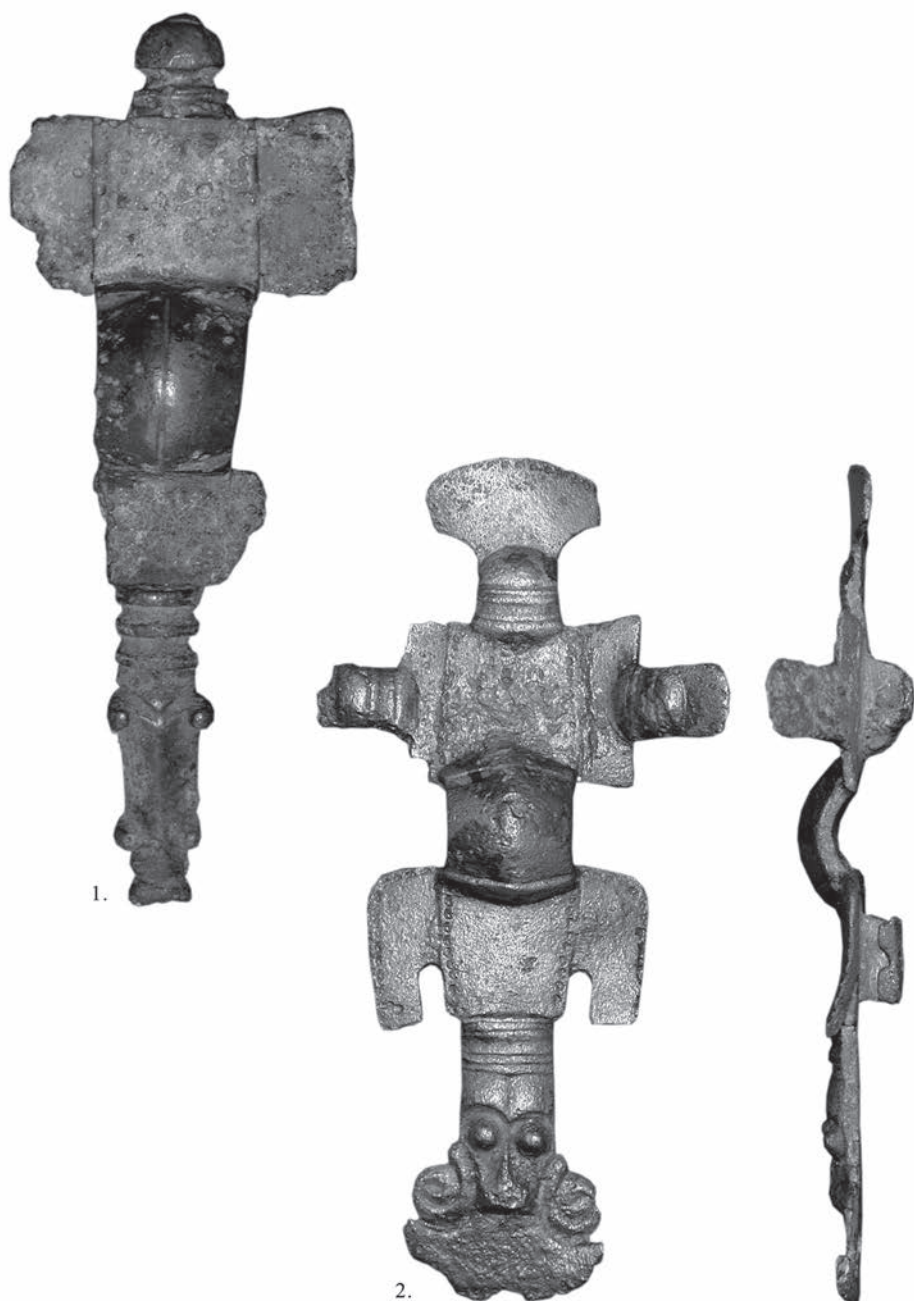


Plate 19. 1. #816 Exning (Windmill Hill), Suffolk (3.2.7); 2. #821 Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambridgeshire (3.2.8). 1:1.

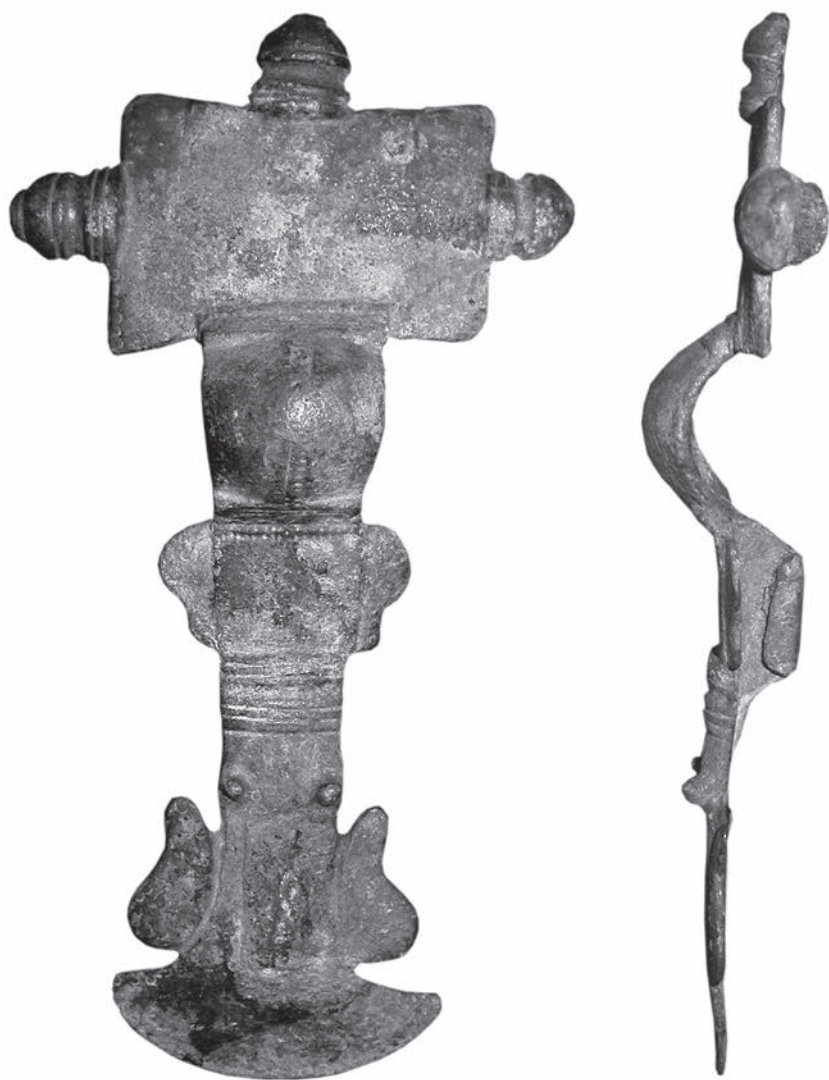


Plate 20. #825 grave 7, Driffield C38, Yorkshire (3.2.9). 1:1.

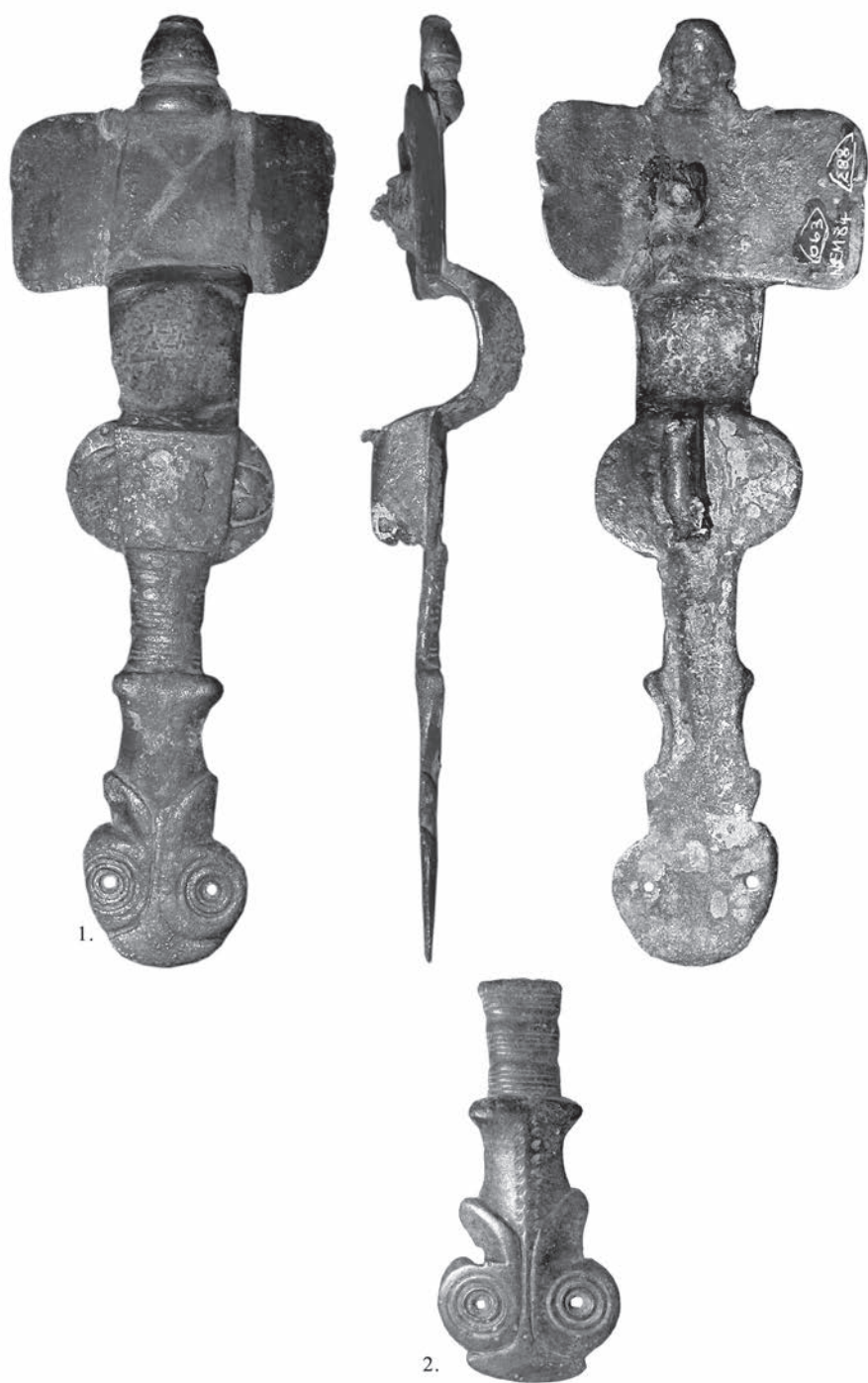


Plate 21. 1. #830 grave 63, Norton, Tees (3.2.10); 2. #829 Folkingham I, Lincolnshire (3.2.10). 1:1.

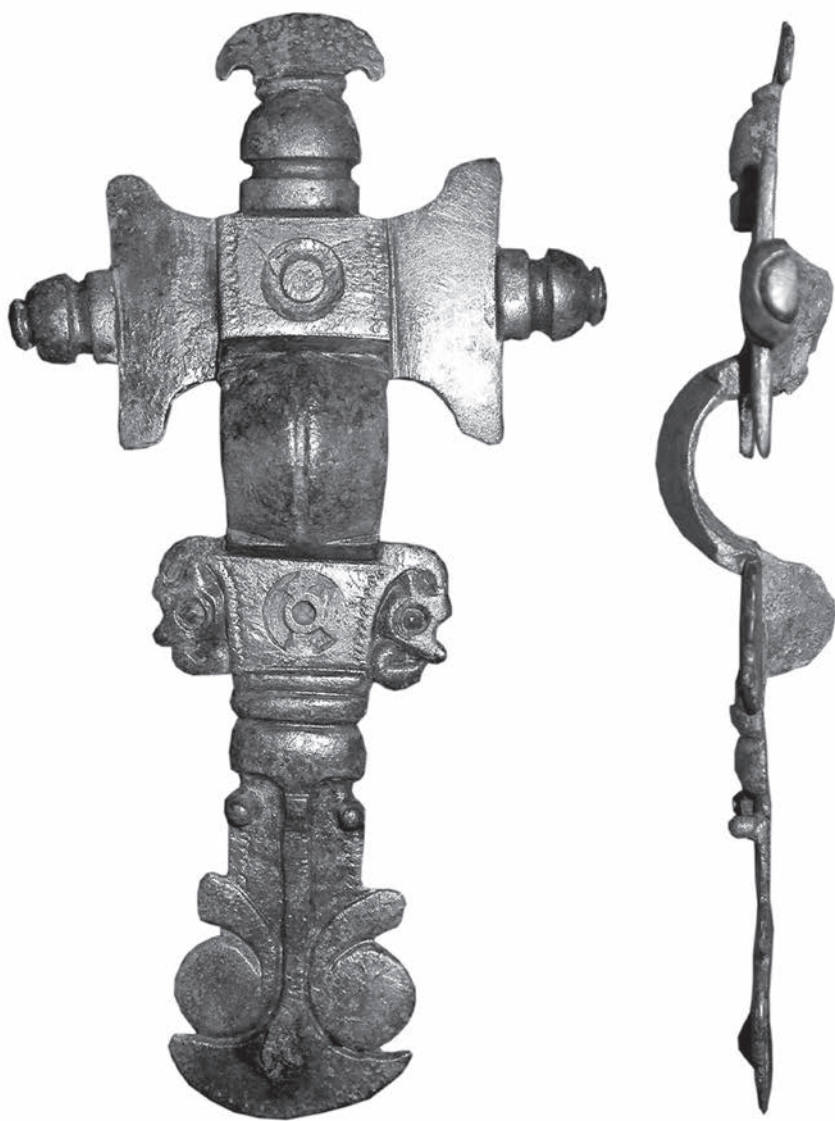


Plate 22. 1. #915 Dunbar Road, Leicester (3.3.1). 1:1.

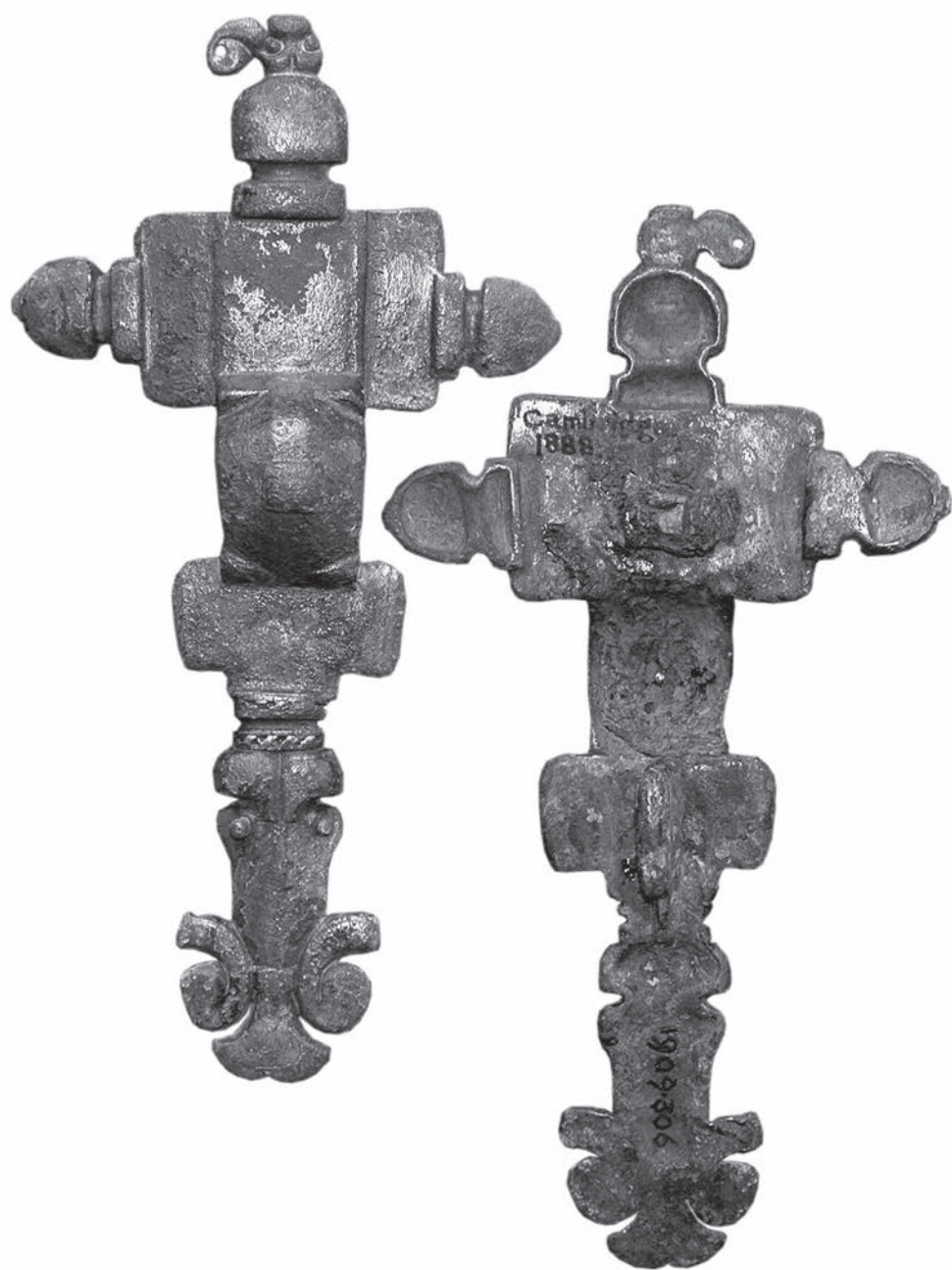


Plate 23. 1. #937 St John's, Cambridge (3.3.1). 1:1.



Plate 24. 1. #940 Barrington I, Cambridgeshire (3.3.2). 1:1.

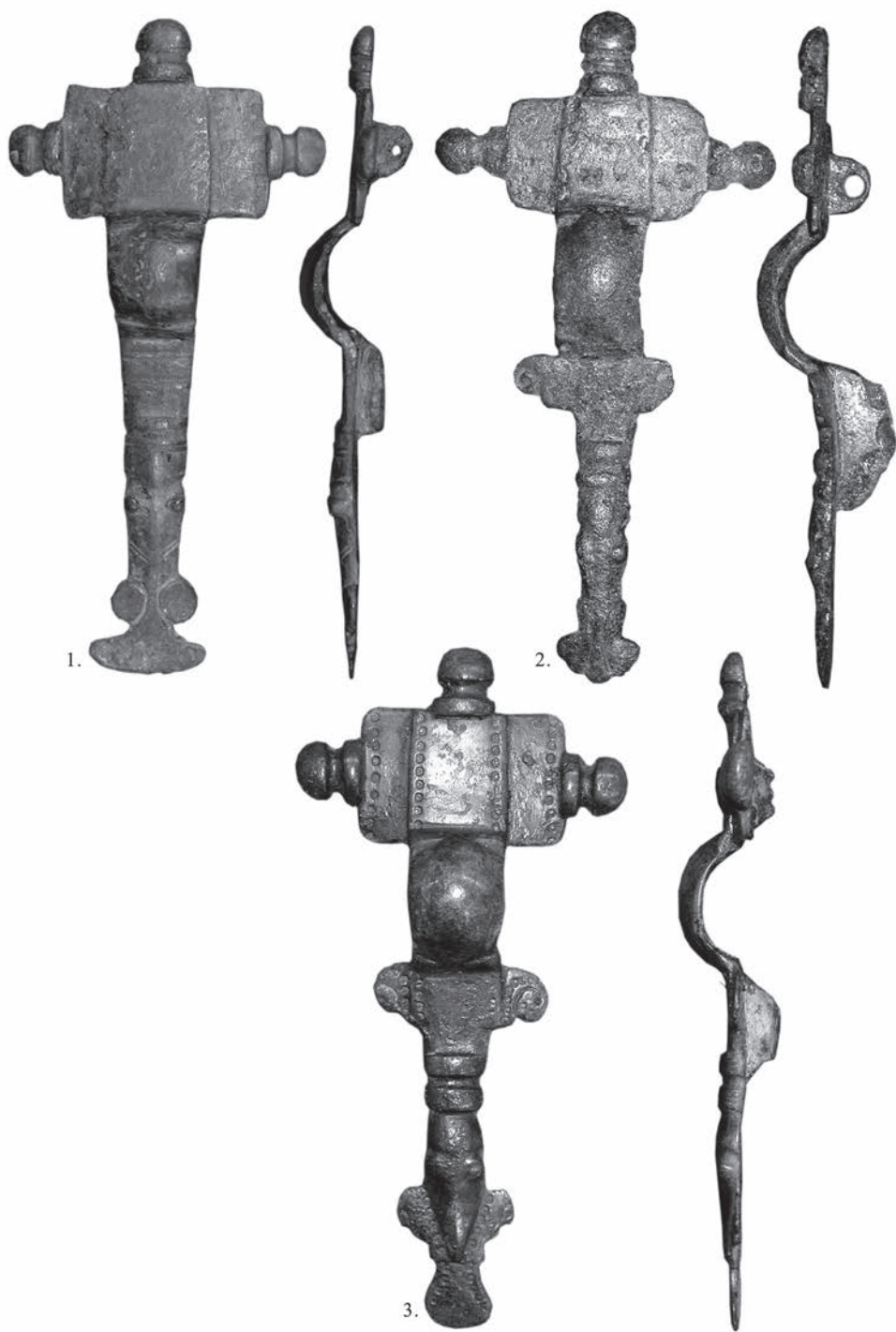


Plate 25. 1. #974 grave 123, Sleaford I, Lincolnshire (3.4.1); 2. #978 grave 9, Glaston, Rutland (3.4.2); 3. #991 Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambridgeshire (3.4.3). 1:1.



Plate 26. #1033 Hoxne, Suffolk (3.5). 1:1.

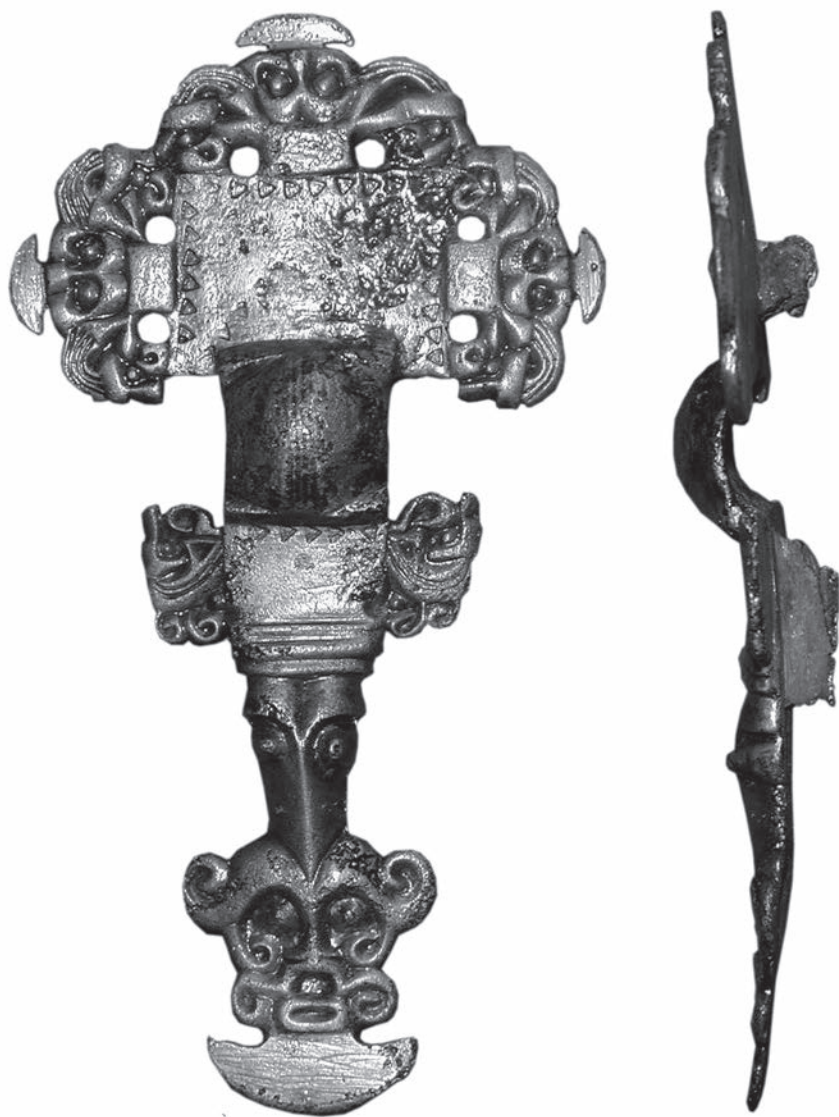


Plate 27. #1165 West Stow, Suffolk (4.1.2). 1:1.



Plate 28. 1. #1183 Market Overton, Rutland (4.2.1); 2. #1177 Churchover, Warwickshire (4.2.1). 1:1.



Plate 29. 1. #1200 grave 37, Driffild C38, Yorkshire (4.3.2); 2. #1228 grave 116, Sleaford I, Lincolnshire (4.4.1). 1:1.



Plate 30. 1. #1257 grave 8, Broughton Lodge, Nottinghamshire (4.6.2). Obverse 1.1, reverse scaled down.



Plate 31. #1296 isolated grave, Longbridge, Warwickshire (4.7.1). 1:1.



Plate 32. #1344 grave 50, Sleaford I, Lincolnshire (unclassified). Obverse 1:1, reverse scaled down.



Plate 33. 1. #1353 Howletts, Kent (Kent 1.2; 2). #1356 grave 28, Fonaby, Lincolnshire (Kent 1.3); 3. #1364 Howletts, Kent (Kent 2.1). 1:1.

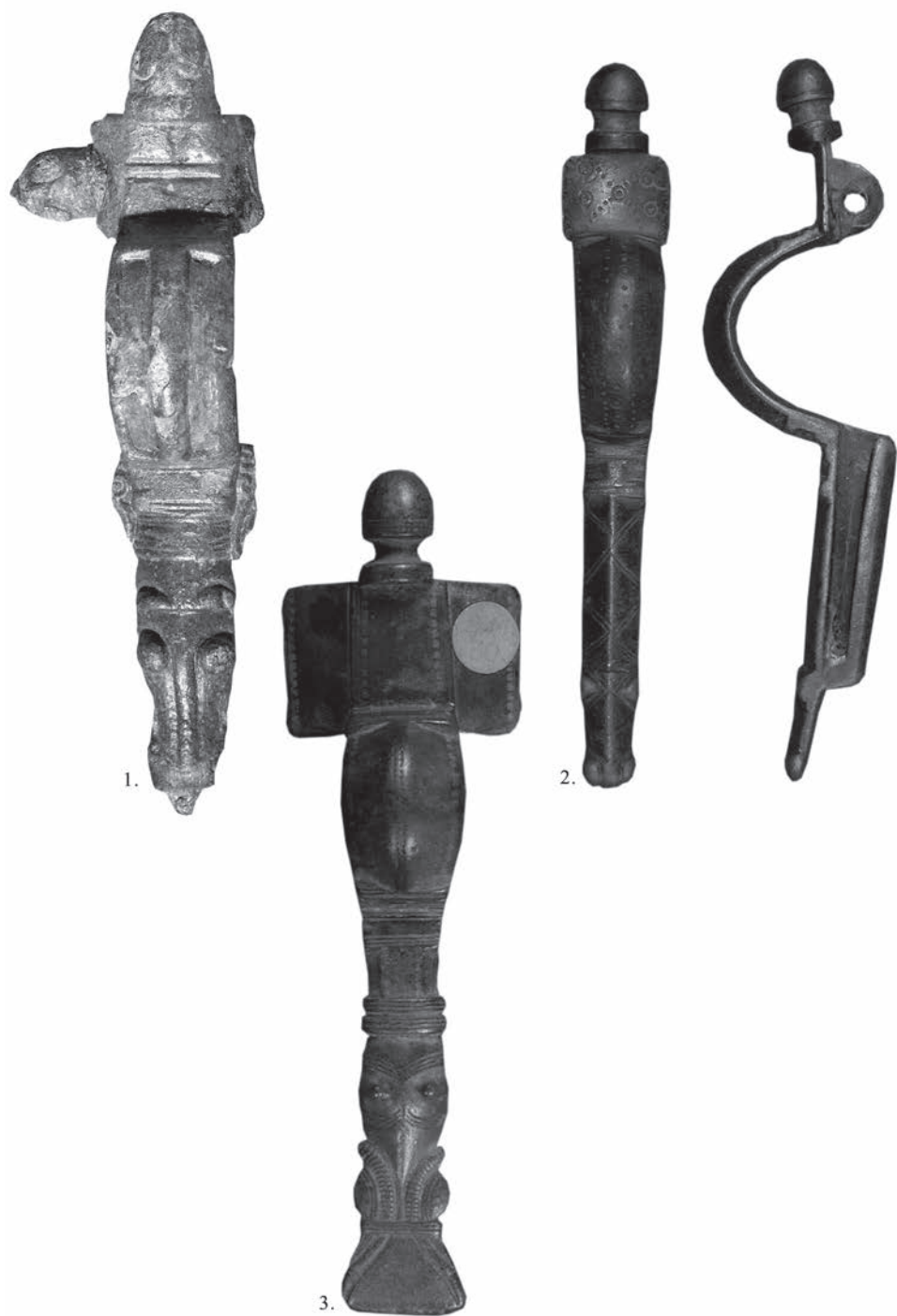


Plate 34. 1. #1380 Gilton, Kent; 2. #1383 unprovenanced; 3. #1382 unprovenanced.
1:1.

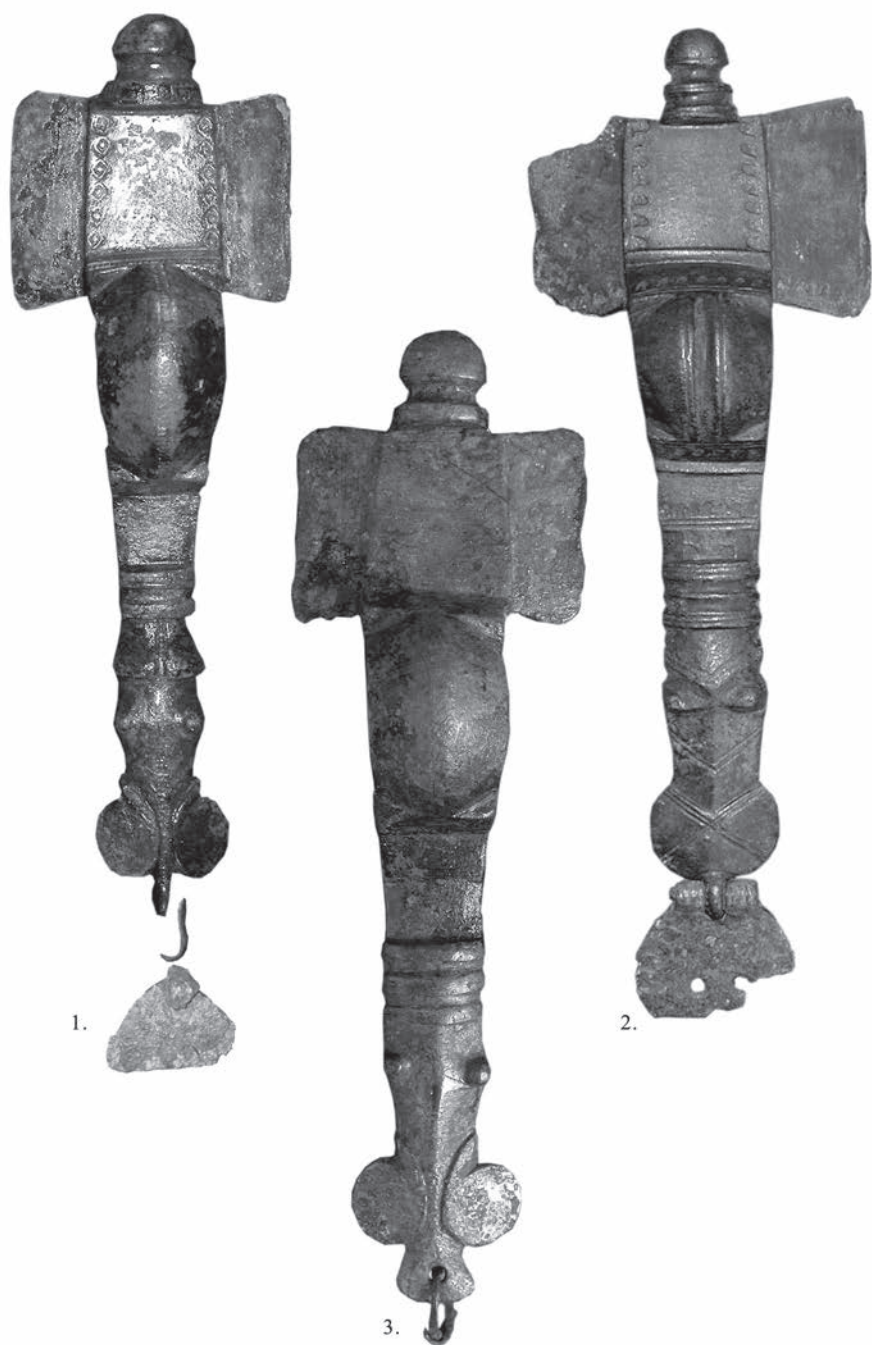


Plate 35. 1. #573 grave 34, Cleatham, Lincolnshire (3.1.1); 2. #286 Trumpington, Cambridgeshire (2.1.2); 3. #624 unprovenanced (3.1.1). 1:1.



Plate 36. 1. #208 grave 7, Girton, Cambridgeshire (2.1.1); 2. #1373 grave 1, Howletts, Kent (Kent 2.2); 3. #1374 grave 1, Howletts, Kent (2.2). 1:1.

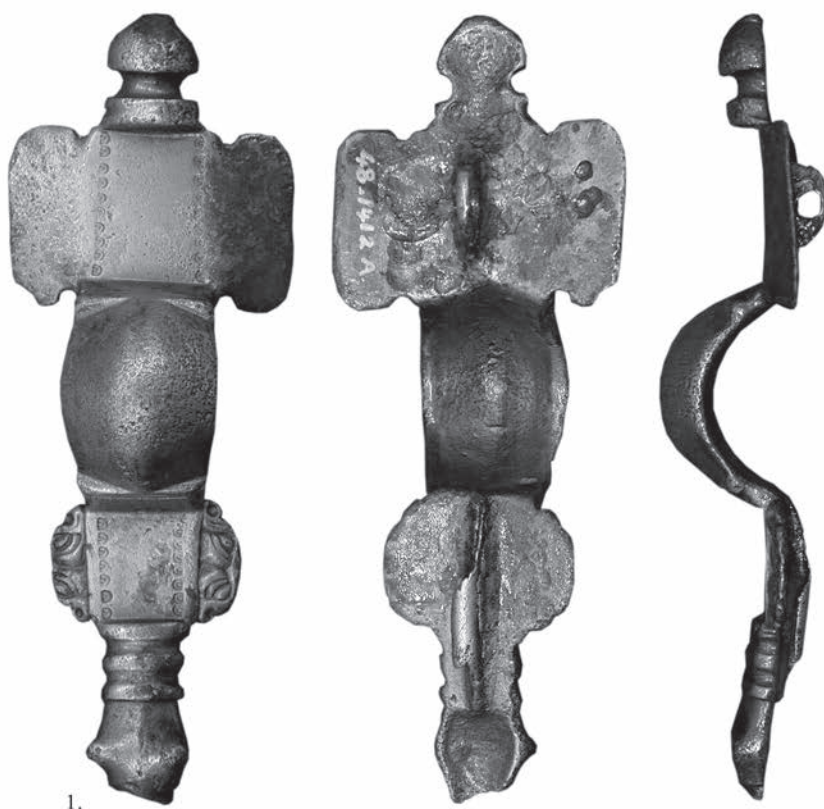


Plate 37. 1. #776 grave 87, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (3.2.4); 2. Detail of #970 grave 95, Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire (3.4.1). 1 is 1:1, 2 no scale.

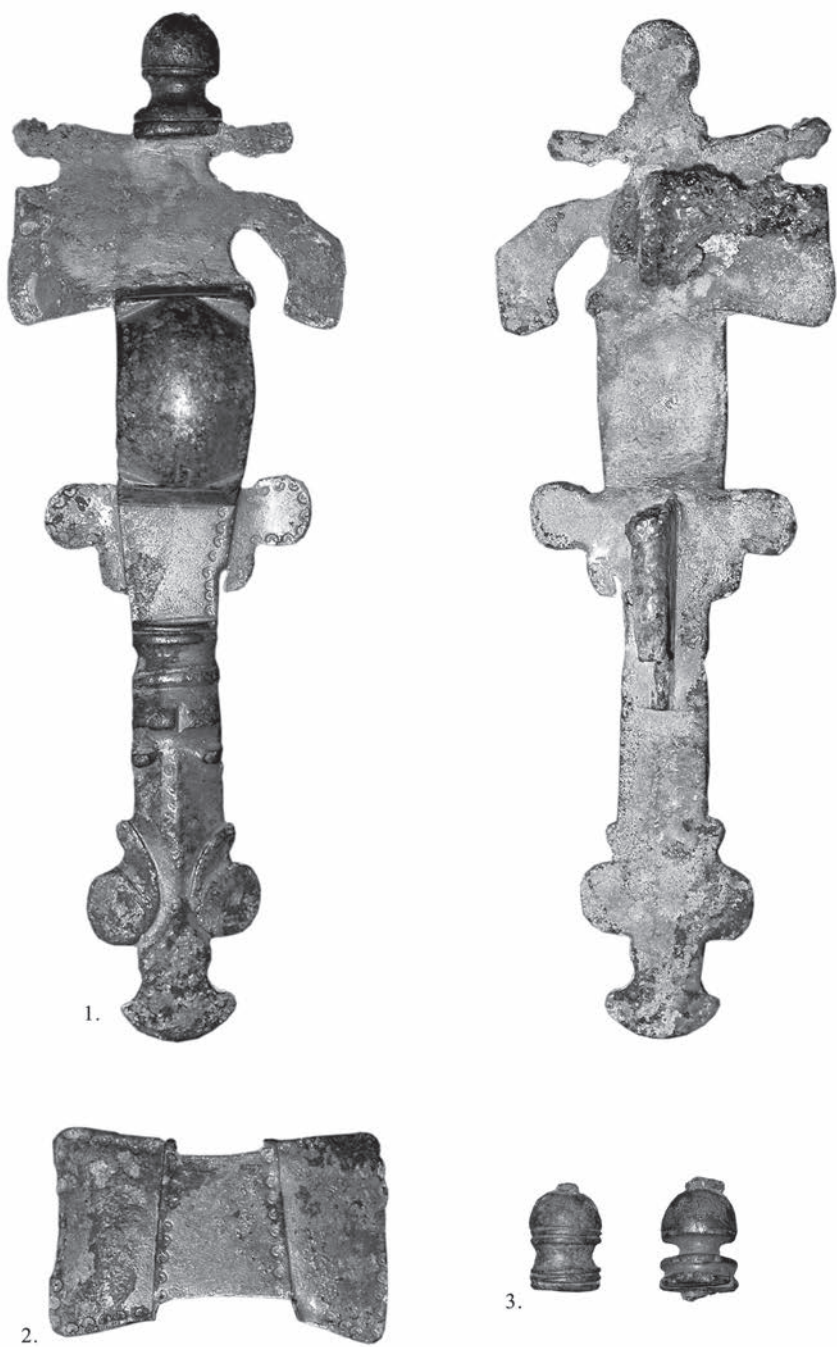


Plate 38. 1. #679 grave 99, Holywell Row, Suffolk (3.2.1); 2. Replacement head-plate; 3. Detached side-knobs. 1:1.

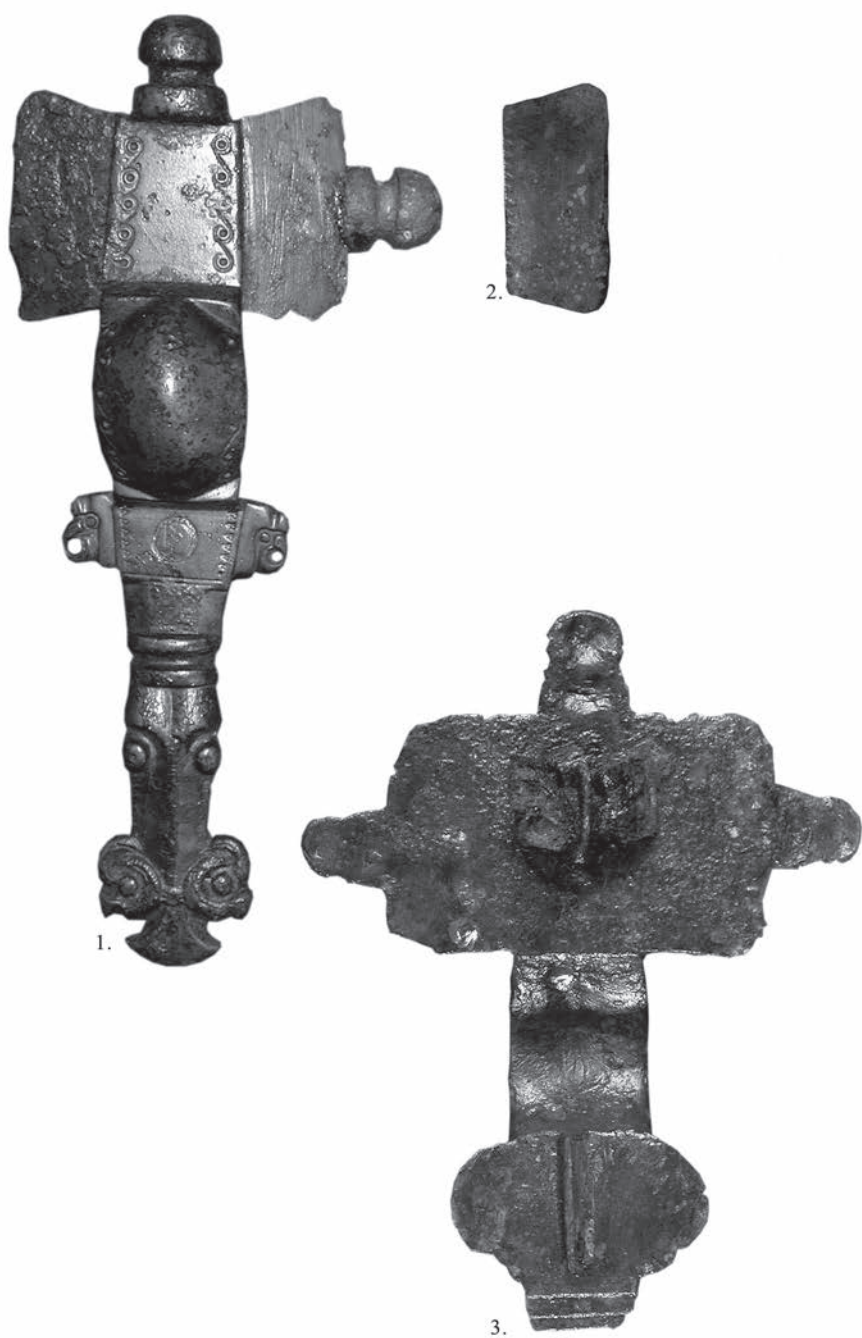


Plate 39. 1. #759 Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire (3.2.3); 2. Replacement head-plate wing for #759; 3. Filed reverse of #848 grave 43, Castledyke South, Lincolnshire (3.2). 1:1.

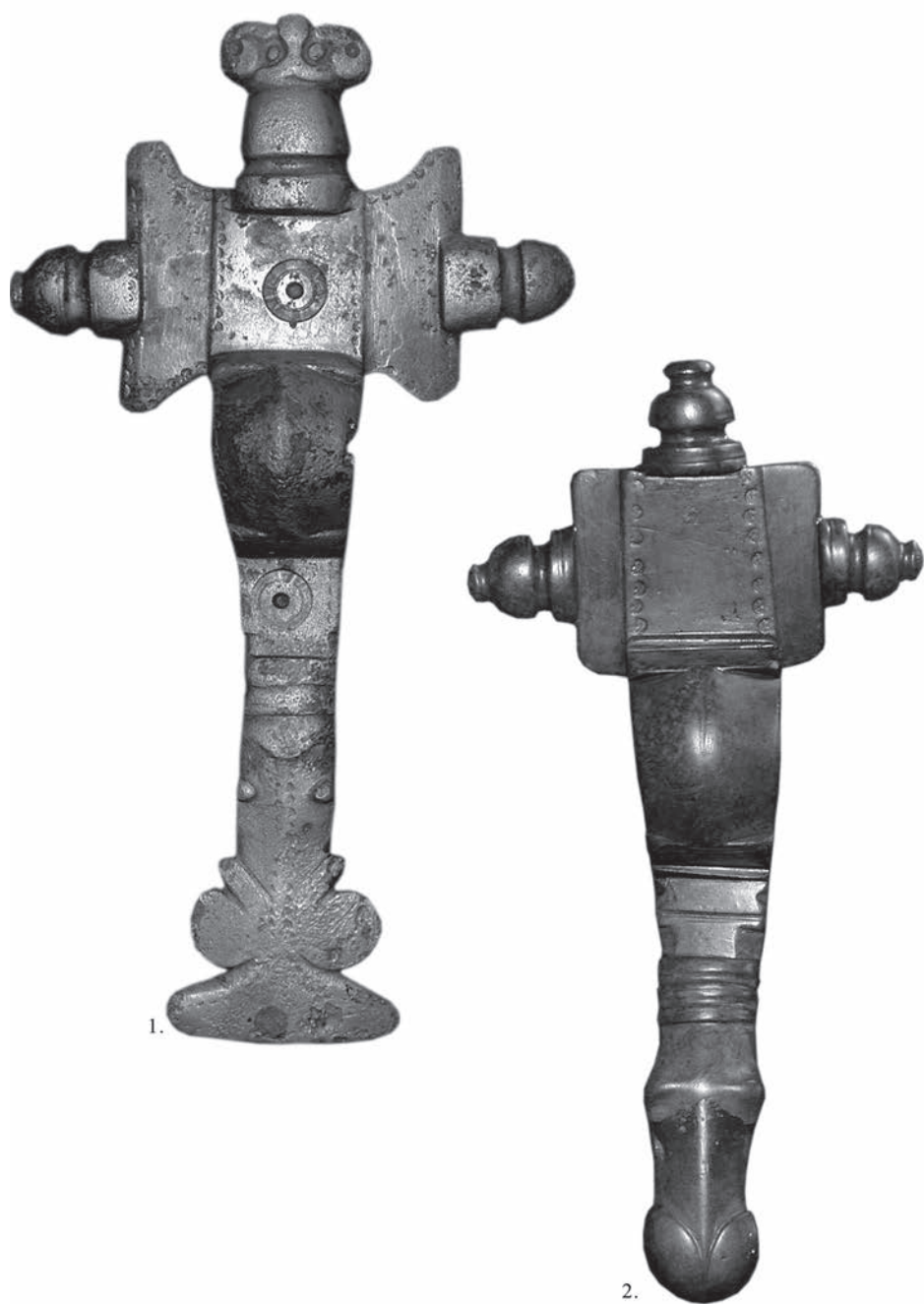


Plate 40. 1. #629 grave 61, Westgarth Gardens, Suffolk (3.1.1); 2. #330 West Hendred, Oxfordshire (2.1.3). 1:1

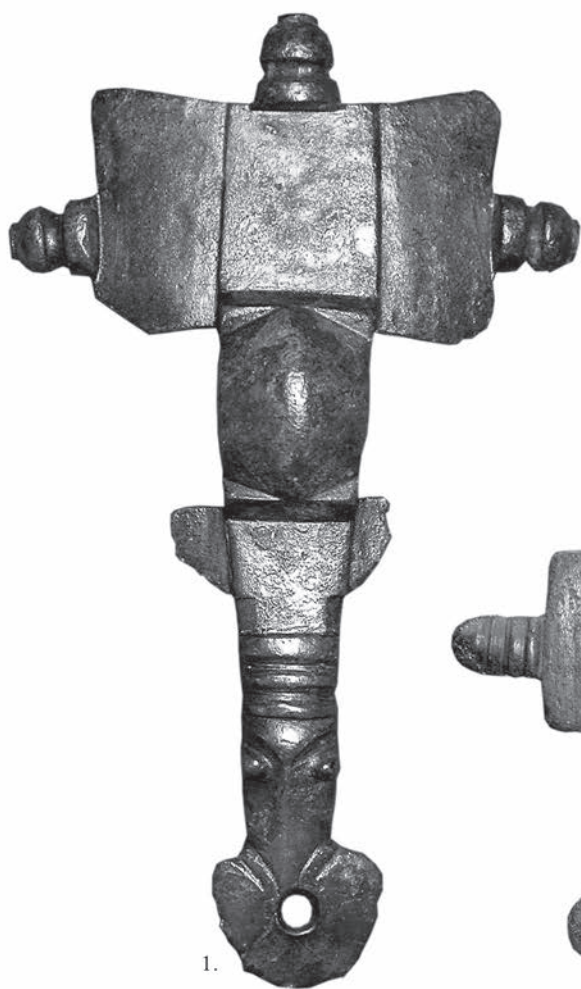


Plate 41. 1. #708 Searby, Lincolnshire (3.2.1); 2. #1003 Barrington A (Edix Hill), Cambridgeshire (3.4.5). 1:1.

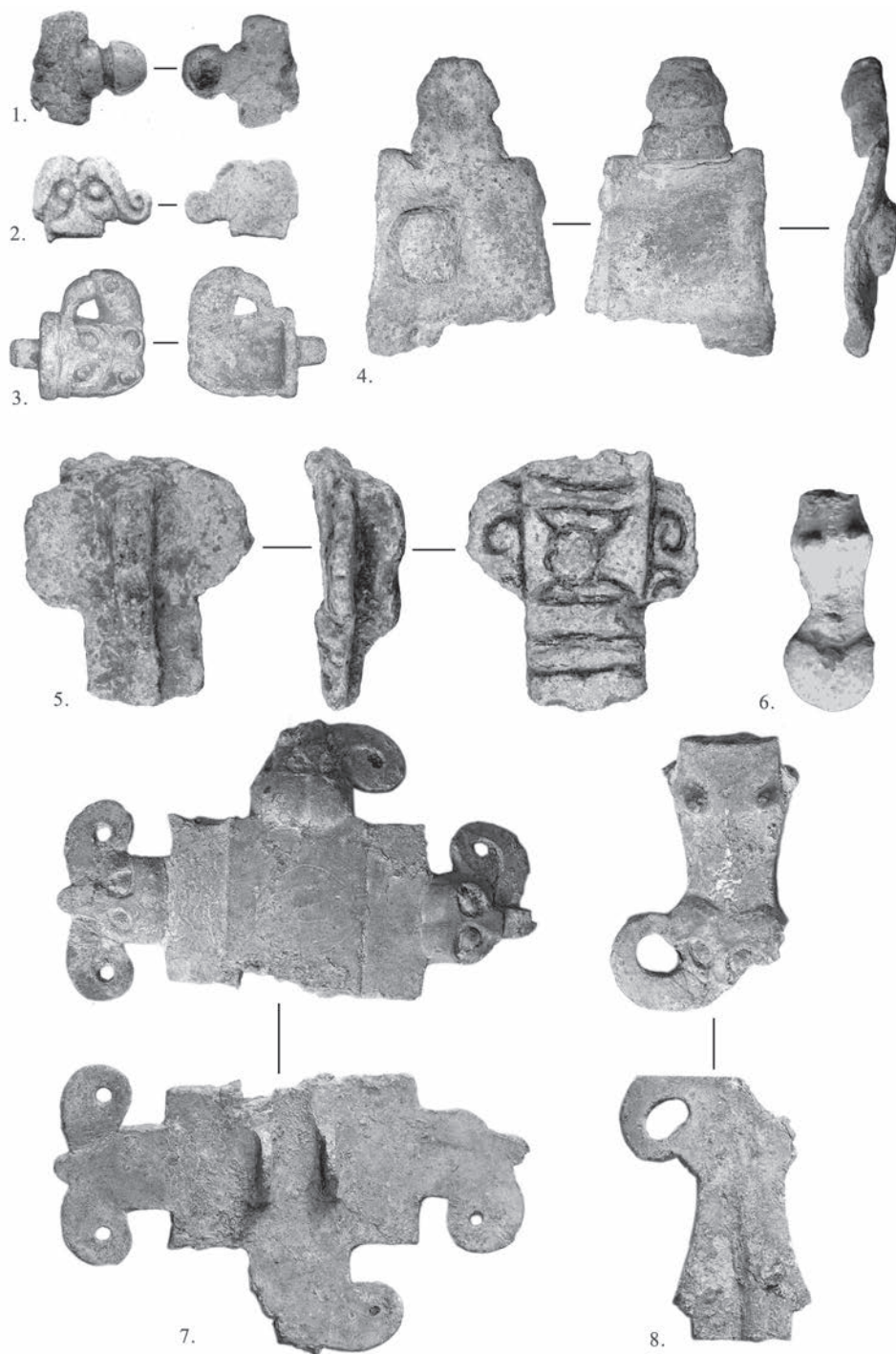


Plate 42. Lead fragments. 1. #1661 Freckenham IV, Suffolk; 2. #1271 Greetwell, Lincolnshire; 3. #1112 Great Casterton, Rutland; 4. #1977 Tuxford II, Nottinghamshire; 5. #902 Westborough, Lincolnshire; 6. #225 Quidenham II, Norfolk; 7. #1128 Walkington III, Yorkshire (4.1.2); 8. Foot fragment from #1128. 1:1.

